THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

VOL. III.

Frontispiece to Vol. 3.



Titian, pinx.t

J. Heath, Sculp.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK V.

BOOK V. 1527.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment or horror. To ſee a Chriſtian Emperor, who, by poſſeſſing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the holy ſee, lay violent hands on him who repreſented Chriſt on earth, and detain his ſacred perſon in a rigorous captivity, was conſidered as an impiety that merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and which called for the immediate interpoſition of every dutiful ſon of the church. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a cloſer alliance;

General indignation excited againſt the Emperor.

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1527. and, in order to give ſome check to the Emperor's ambition, had agreed to make a vigorous diverſion in the Low Countries. The force of every motive, which had influenced them at that time, was now increaſed; and to theſe were added the deſire of reſcuing the Pope out of the Emperor's hands, a meaſure no leſs politic, than it appeared to be pious. This, however, rendered it neceſſary to abandon their hoſtile intentions againſt the Low Countries, and to make Italy the ſeat of war, as it was by vigorous operations there they might contribute moſt effectually towards delivering Rome, and ſetting Clement at liberty. Francis being now ſenſible, that, in his ſyſtem with regard to the affairs of Italy, the ſpirit of refinement had carried him too far; and that, by an exceſs of remiſſneſs, he had allowed Charles to attain advantages which he might eaſily have prevented, was eager to make reparation for an error, of which he was not often guilty, by an activity more ſuitable to his temper. Henry thought his interpoſition neceſſary, in order to hinder the Emperor from becoming maſter of all Italy, and acquiring by that means ſuch ſuperiority of power, as would enable him, for the future, to dictate without controul to the other princes of Europe. Wolſey, whom Francis had taken care to ſecure by flattery and preſents, the certain methods of gaining his favour, neglected nothing that could incenſe his maſter againſt the Emperor. Beſides all theſe public conſiderations, Henry was influenced by one of a more private nature; having

begun, about this time, to form his great ſcheme of divorcing Catherine of Aragon, towards the execution of which he knew that the ſanction of papal authority would be neceſſary, he was deſirous to acquire as much merit as poſſible with Clement, by appearing to be the chief inſtrument of his deliverance. 1527.

Confederacy againſt him. July 11.

THE negociation, between princes thus diſpoſed, was not tedious. Wolſey himſelf conducted it, on the part of his ſovereign, with unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in perſon at Amiens, where the Cardinal appeared, and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princeſs Mary was agreed to as the baſis of the confederacy; it was reſolved that Italy ſhould be the theatre of war; the ſtrength of the army which ſhould take the field, as well as the contingent of troops or of money, which each prince ſhould furniſh, were ſettled; and if the Emperor did not accept of the propoſals which they were jointly to make him, they bound themſelves immediately to declare war, and to begin hoſtilities. Aug. 18. Henry, who took every reſolution with impetuoſity, entered ſo eagerly into this new alliance, that, in order to give Francis the ſtrongeſt proof of his friendſhip and reſpect, he formally renounced the ancient claim of the Engliſh monarchs to the crown of France, which had long been the pride and ruin of the nation; as a full compenſation for which he accepted a penſion of fifty thouſand crowns,

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to be paid annually to himſelf and his ſucceſſors [a].

The Florentines recover their freedom.

THE Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, ſtill remained a priſoner under the ſevere cuſtody of Alarcon. The Florentines no ſooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner; expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the ſtatues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themſelves a free ſtate, re-eſtabliſhed their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the Pope, ſeized Ravenna, and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in depoſite. The dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold likewiſe on part of the ſpoils of the unfortunate Pontiff, whom they conſidered as irretrievably ruined [b].

The Imperial troops inactive.

LANNOY, on the other hand, laboured to derive ſome ſolid benefit from that unforeſeen event, which gave ſuch ſplendour and ſuperiority to his maſter's arms. For this purpoſe he marched to Rome, together with Moncada, and the marquis del Guaſto, at the head of all the troops which they could aſſemble in the kingdom of

[a] Herbert, 83, &c. Rym. Fœd. xiv. 203.
[b] Guic. l. xviii. 453.

Naples.

1527.

Naples. The arrival of this reinforcement brought new calamities on the unhappy citizens of Rome; for the ſoldiers envying the wealth of their companions, imitated their licence, and with the utmoſt rapacity gathered the gleanings, which had eſcaped the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans. There was not now any army in Italy capable of making head againſt the Imperialiſts; and nothing more was requiſite to reduce Bologna, and the other towns in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, than to have appeared before them. But the ſoldiers having been ſo long accuſtomed, under Bourbon, to an entire relaxation of diſcipline, and having taſted the ſweets of living at diſcretion in a great city, almoſt without the controul of a ſuperior, were become ſo impatient of military ſubordination, and ſo averſe to ſervice, that they refuſed to leave Rome, unleſs all their arrears were paid; a condition which they knew to be impoſſible. At the ſame time, they declared, that they would not obey any other perſon than the prince of Orange, whom the army had choſen general. Lannoy, finding that it was no longer ſafe for him to remain among licentious troops, who deſpiſed his dignity, and hated his perſon, returned to Naples; ſoon after the marquis del Guaſto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the ſame reaſon. The prince of Orange, a general only in name, and by the moſt precarious of all tenures, the good-will of ſoldiers, whom ſucceſs and licence had rendered capricious, was obliged

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to pay more attention to their humours, than they did to his commands. Thus the Emperor, inſtead of reaping any of the advantages which he might have expected from the reduction of Rome, had the mortification to ſee the moſt formidable body of troops that he had ever brought into the field, continue in a ſtate of inactivity from which it was impoſſible to rouſe them [c].

The French army marches into Italy.

THIS gave the King of France and the Venetians leiſure to form new ſchemes, and to enter into new engagements for delivering the Pope, and preſerving the liberties of Italy. The newly-reſtored republic of Florence very imprudently joined with them, and Lautrec, of whoſe abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own maſter, was, in order to gratify them, appointed generaliſſimo of the league. It was with the utmoſt reluctance he undertook that office, being unwilling to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the difficulties and diſgraces, which the negligence of the King, or the malice of his favourites, might bring upon him. The beſt troops in France marched under his command; and the King of England, though he had not yet declared war againſt the Emperor, advanced a conſiderable ſum towards carrying on the expedition. Lautrec's firſt ope-

[c] Guic. l. xviii. 454.

rations

1527. His operations.

rations were prudent, vigorous, and ſucceſsful. By the aſſiſtance of Andrew Doria, the ableſt ſea-officer of that age, he rendered himſelf maſter of Genoa, and re-eſtabliſhed in that republic the faction of the Fregoſi, together with the dominion of France. He obliged Alexandria to ſurrender after a ſhort ſiege, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. He took Pavia, which had ſo long reſiſted the arms of his ſovereign, by aſſault, and plundered it with that cruelty, which the memory of the fatal diſaſter that had befallen the French nation before its walls naturally inſpired. All the Milaneſe, which Antonio de Leyva defended with a ſmall body of troops, kept together, and ſupported by his own addreſs and induſtry, muſt have ſoon ſubmitted to his power, if he had continued to bend the force of his arms againſt that country. But Lautrec durſt not complete a conqueſt which would have been ſo honourable to himſelf, and of ſuch advantage to the league. Francis knew his confederates to be more deſirous of circumſcribing the Imperial power in Italy, than of acquiring new territories for him; and was afraid, that if Sforza were once re-eſtabliſhed in Milan, they would ſecond but coldly the attack which he intended to make on the kingdom of Naples. For this reaſon he inſtructed Lautrec not to puſh his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the Pope, and the ſolicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were ſo urgent as to

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furniſh him with a decent pretext for marching forward, without yielding to the intreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who inſiſted on his laying ſiege to Milan [d].

The Emperor ſets the Pope at liberty.

WHILE Lautrec advanced ſlowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the diſpoſal of the Pope's perſon, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious veil of religion, with which he uſually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles, in many inſtances, appears to have been but little under the influence of religious conſiderations, and had frequently, on this occaſion, expreſſed an inclination to tranſport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the ſpectacle of the two moſt illuſtrious perſonages in Europe ſucceſſively priſoners in his court. But the fear of giving new offence to all Chriſtendom, and of filling his own ſubjects with horror, obliged him to forego that ſatisfaction [e]. The progreſs of the confederates made it now neceſſary, either to ſet the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to ſome place of confinement more ſecure than the caſtle of St. Angelo. Many conſiderations induced him to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money, requiſite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vaſt arrears due to it. In

[d] Guic. l. xviii. 461. Bellay, 107, &c. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 238.

[e] Guic. l. xviii. 457.

order

order to obtain this, he had aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Valladolid about the beginning of the year, and having laid before them the ſtate of his affairs, and repreſented the neceſſity of making great preparations to reſiſt the enemies, whom envy at the ſucceſs which had crowned his arms would unite againſt him, he demanded a large ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms; but the Cortes, as the nation was already exhauſted by extraordinary donatives, refuſed to load it with any new burden, and in ſpite of all his endeavours to gain or to intimidate the members, perſiſted in this reſolution[f]. No reſource, therefore, remained, but the extorting from Clement, by way of ranſom, a ſum ſufficient for diſcharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

1527. Feb. 11.

Nor was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unſucceſsful towards haſtening ſuch a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he diſarmed the reſentment of Cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him deſirous of ſhewing the world, that as his power had at firſt depreſſed the Pope, it could now raiſe him to his former dignity. By favours and promiſes he gained Moronè, who, by one of thoſe whimſical revo-

[f] Sandov. i. p. 814.

lutions

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1527. lutions which occur ſo often in his life, and which ſo ſtrongly diſplay his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialiſts. The addreſs and influence of two ſuch men eaſily removed all the obſtacles which retarded an accommodation, and brought the treaty for Clement's liberty to a concluſion, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more ſevere than a prince in his ſituation had reaſon to expect. He was obliged to advance, in ready money, an hundred thouſand crowns for the uſe of the army; to pay the ſame ſum at the diſtance of a fortnight; and, at the end of three months, an hundred and fifty thouſand more. He engaged not to take part in the war againſt Charles, either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a bull of cruzado, and the tenth of eccleſiaſtical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hoſtages, but put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe articles[g]. Having raiſed the firſt moiety by a ſale of eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from impriſonment.

Dec. 6. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of ſix months, as well as full of the ſuſpicion and diſtruſt natural to the unfortunate, was ſo much afraid that the Imperialiſts might ſtill throw in obſtacles to put off his deliverance, that he diſguiſed himſelf, on the night preceding

[g] Guic. l. xviii. 467, &c.

the

the day when he was to be ſet free, in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted ſomewhat of his vigilance upon the concluſion of the treaty, he made his eſcape undiſcovered. He arrived before next morning at Orvietto, without any attendants but a ſingle officer; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief inſtrument of procuring him liberty [h]. 1527.

Overtures of the Emperor to Francis and Henry.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the ambaſſadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in conſequence of the treaty which Wolſey had concluded with the French King. The Emperor, unwilling to draw on himſelf the united forces of the two monarchs, diſcovered an inclination to relax ſomewhat the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had adhered inflexibly. He offered to accept of the two millions of crowns, which Francis had propoſed to pay as an equivalent for the dutchy of Burgundy, and to ſet his ſons at liberty, on condition that he would recall his army out of Italy, and reſtore Genoa, together with the other conqueſts which he had made in that country. With regard to Sforza, he inſiſted that his fate ſhould be determined by the judges appointed to inquire into his crimes. Theſe propoſitions being made to Henry, he tranſmitted them to his ally the French King, whom it more nearly concerned

[h] Guic. l. xviii. 467, &c. Jov. Vit. Colon. 169. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 252.

to

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to examine and to anſwer them; and if Francis had been ſincerely ſolicitous, either to conclude peace or preſerve conſiſtency in his own conduct, he ought inſtantly to have cloſed with overtures which differed but little from the propoſitions which he himſelf had formerly made[1]. But his views were now much changed; his alliance with Henry, Lautrec's progreſs in Italy, and the ſuperiority of his army there above that of the Emperor, hardly left him room to doubt of the ſucceſs of his enterprize againſt Naples. Full of thoſe ſanguine hopes, he was at no loſs to find pretexts for rejecting or evading what the Emperor had propoſed. Under the appearance of ſympathy with Sforza, for whoſe intereſts he had not hitherto diſcovered much ſolicitude, he again demanded the full and unconditional re-eſtabliſhment of that unfortunate prince in his dominions. Under colour of its being imprudent to rely on the Emperor's ſincerity, he inſiſted that his ſons ſhould be ſet at liberty before the French troops left Italy, or ſurrendered Genoa. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe demands, as well as the reproachful inſinuation with which they were accompanied, irritated Charles to ſuch a degree, that he could hardly liſten to them with patience; and repenting of his moderation, which had made ſo little impreſſion on his enemies, declared that he would not depart in the ſmalleſt article from the conditions which he had

[1] Recueil des Traitéz, ii. 249.

now

now offered. Upon this the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors (for Henry had been drawn unaccountably to concur with Francis in theſe ſtrange propoſitions) demanded and obtained their audience of leave[k]. 1527.

1528. January 22. NEXT day, two heralds, who had accompanied the ambaſſadors on purpoſe, though they had hitherto concealed their character, having aſſumed the enſigns of their office, appeared in the Emperor's court, and being admitted into his preſence, they, in the name of their reſpective maſters, and with all the ſolemnities cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, denounced war againſt him. Charles received both with a dignity ſuitable to his own rank, but ſpoke to each in a tone adapted to the ſentiments which he entertained of their ſovereigns. He accepted the defiance of the Engliſh monarch with a firmneſs tempered by ſome degree of decency and reſpect. His reply to the French King abounded with that acrimony of expreſſion, which perſonal rivalſhip, exaſperated by the memory of many injuries inflicted as well as ſuffered, naturally ſuggeſts. He deſired the French herald to acquaint his ſovereign, that he would henceforth conſider him not only as a baſe violator of public faith, but as a ſtranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. Francis, too high-ſpirited to bear ſuch an imputation, had recourſe to an

They declare war againſt the Emperor.

[k] Rym. xiv. 200. Herbert, 85. Guic. l. xviii. 471.

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uncommon expedient in order to vindicate his character. He inſtantly ſent back the herald with a *cartel* of defiance, in which he gave the Emperor the lie in form, challenged him to ſingle combat, requiring him to name the time and place of the encounter, and the weapons with which he choſe to fight. Charles, as he was not inferior to his rival in ſpirit or bravery, readily accepted the challenge; but, after ſeveral meſſages concerning the arrangement of all the circumſtances relative to the combat, accompanied with mutual reproaches, bordering on the moſt indecent ſcurrility, all thoughts of this duel, more becoming the heroes of romance than the two greateſt monarchs of their age, were entirely laid aſide[1].

1528. Francis challenges the Emperor to ſingle combat.

THE example of two perſonages ſo illuſtrious drew ſuch general attention, and carried with it ſo much authority, that it had conſiderable influence in producing an important change in manners all over Europe. Duels, as has already been obſerved, had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and forming a part of their juriſprudence, were authoriſed by the magiſtrate, on many occaſions, as the moſt proper method of terminating queſtions with regard to property, or of deciding thoſe which reſpected crimes. But ſingle combats being conſidered as ſolemn appeals to the

The effect of this in promoting the cuſtom of duelling.

[1] Recueil des Traitéz, 2. Mem. de Bellay, 103, &c. Sandov. Hiſt. i. 837.

omniſcience

omniſcience and juſtice of the Supreme Being, they were allowed only in public cauſes, according to the preſcription of law, and carried on in a judicial form. Men accuſtomed to this manner of deciſions in courts of juſtice, were naturally led to apply it to perſonal and private quarrels. Duels, which at firſt could be appointed by the civil judge alone, were fought without the interpoſition of his authority, and in caſes to which the laws did not extend. The tranſaction between Charles and Francis ſtrongly countenanced this practice. Upon every affront, or injury, which ſeemed to touch his honour, a gentleman thought himſelf entitled to draw his ſword, and to call on his adverſary to give him ſatisfaction. Such an opinion becoming prevalent among men of fierce courage, of high ſpirit, and of rude manners, when offence was often given, and revenge was always prompt, produced moſt fatal conſequences. Much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom was ſhed; many uſeful lives were ſacrificed; and, at ſome periods, war itſelf hath hardly been more deſtructive than theſe private conteſts of honour. So powerful, however, is the dominion of faſhion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to aboliſh a practice unknown among the ancients, and not juſtifiable by any principle of reaſon; though at the ſame time it muſt be admitted, that, to this abſurd cuſtom, we muſt aſcribe in ſome degree the extraordinary gentleneſs and complaiſance of modern manners, and that reſpectful attention of one man to another, which, at preſent, render the

ſocial

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ſocial intercourſes of life far more agreeable and decent, than among the moſt civilized nations of antiquity.

Retreat of the Imperialiſts from Rome. February.

WHILE the two monarchs ſeemed ſo eager to terminate their quarrel by a perſonal combat, Lautrec continued his operations, which promiſed to be more deciſive. His army, which was now increaſed to thirty-five thouſand men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonſtrances and the entreaties of the prince of Orange, prevailed at laſt on the Imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept poſſeſſion during ten months. But of that flouriſhing army which had entered the city, ſcarcely one half remained; the reſt, cut off by the plague, or waſted by diſeaſes, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes[m]. Lautrec made the greateſt efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finiſhed the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders diſappointed all his meaſures, and conducted them with little loſs to Naples. The people of that kingdom, extremely impatient to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, received the French with open arms, wherever they appeared to take poſſeſſion; and Gaeta and Naples excepted, hardly any place of importance

[m] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

remained

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remained in the hands of the Imperialiſts. The preſervation of the former was owing to the ſtrength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the preſence of the Imperial army. Lautrec, however, ſat down before Naples; but finding it vain to think of reducing a city by force while defended by a whole army, he was obliged to employ the ſlower, but leſs dangerous method of blockade; and having taken meaſures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently aſſured his maſter, that famine would ſoon compel the beſieged to capitulate. Theſe hopes were ſtrongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the ſea. The gallies of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had ſucceeded Lannoy in the vice-royalty, rigged out a number of gallies ſuperior to Doria's, manned them with a choſen body of Spaniſh veterans, and going on board himſelf, together with the marquis del Guaſto, attacked Philippino before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But the Genoeſe admiral, by his ſuperior ſkill in naval operations, eaſily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, moſt of his fleet deſtroyed, and Guaſto, with many officers of diſtinction, being taken priſoners, were put on board the captive gallies, and ſent by Philippino as trophies of his victory to his uncle [n].

French beſiege Naples.

[n] Guic. l. xix. 487. P. Heuter. lib. x. c. 2. p. 231.

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1528. Circumſtances which retard the progreſs of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this flattering proſpect of ſucceſs, many circumſtances concurred to fruſtrate Lautrec's expectations. Clement, though he always acknowledged his being indebted to Francis for the recovery of his liberty, and often complained of the cruel treatment which he had met with from the Emperor, was not influenced at this juncture by principles of gratitude, nor, which is more extraordinary, was he ſwayed by the deſire of revenge. His paſt misfortunes rendered him more cautious than ever, and his recollection of the errors which he had committed, increaſed the natural irreſolution of his mind. While he amuſed Francis with promiſes, he ſecretly negociated with Charles; and being ſolicitous, above all things, to re-eſtabliſh his family in Florence with its ancient authority, which he could not expect from Francis, who had entered into ſtrict alliance with the new republic, he leaned rather to the ſide of his enemy than to that of his benefactor, and gave Lautrec no aſſiſtance towards carrying on his operations. The Venetians, viewing with jealouſy the progreſs of the French arms, were intent only upon recovering ſuch maritime towns in the Neapolitan dominions as were to be poſſeſſed by their republic, while they were altogether careleſs about the reduction of Naples, on which the ſucceſs of the common cauſe depended [o]. The King of England, inſtead of being able, as had been projected, to embarraſs the Emperor by attack-

[o] Guic. lib. xix. 491.

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ing his territories in the Low-Countries, found his ſubjects ſo averſe to an unneceſſary war, which would have ruined the trade of the nation, that in order to ſilence their clamours, and put a ſtop to the inſurrections ready to break out among them, he was compelled to conclude a truce for eight months with the governeſs of the Netherlands [p]. Francis himſelf, with the ſame unpardonable inattention of which he had formerly been guilty, and for which he had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, neglected to make proper remittances to Lautrec for the ſupport of his army [q]. 1528.

Revolt of Andrew Doria from France.

THESE unexpected events retarded the progreſs of the French, diſcouraging both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their meaſures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republic, and trained up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice, retained the ſpirit of independence natural to the former, together with the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A ſtranger to the arts of ſubmiſſion or flattery neceſſary in courts, but conſcious at the ſame time of his own merit and importance, he always offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonſtrances with boldneſs. The French miniſters, unaccuſtomed to ſuch liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with ſo

[p] Herbert, 90. Rymer, 14. 258.
[q] Guic. l. xviii. 478.

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little deference; and though Francis himſelf had a juſt ſenſe of Doria's ſervices, as well as an high eſteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually repreſenting him as a man haughty, intractable, and more ſolicitous to aggrandize himſelf, than to promote the intereſt of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the King's mind with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. From thence proceeded ſeveral affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice, even in naval affairs, was often ſlighted; an attempt was made to ſeize the priſoners taken by his nephew in the ſea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill-humour. But an injury offered to his country, tranſported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and removing thither ſome branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly ſhewed that they intended to render that town, which had been long the object of jealouſy and hatred to the Genoeſe, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country, remonſtrated againſt this in the higheſt tone, not without threats, if the meaſure were not inſtantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the moſt odious light, irritated Francis to ſuch a degree, that he commanded Barbeſieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to ſail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arreſt Doria,

and to ſeize his gallies. This raſh order, the execution of which could have been ſecured only by the moſt profound ſecrecy, was concealed with ſo little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of ſafety. Guaſto, his priſoner, who had long obſerved and fomented his growing diſcontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promiſes to enter into the Emperor's ſervice, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and reſentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to diſpatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully ſenſible of the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria ſent back his commiſſion, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoiſting the Imperial colours, ſailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, as he had formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance. 1528.

Wretched ſituation of the French army before Naples.

His arrival opened the communication with the ſea, and reſtored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity; and the French having loſt their ſuperiority at ſea, were ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions. The prince of Orange, who ſucceeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army,

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1528. ſhewed himſelf by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the proſperity which they had enjoyed under his command, ſerved him with the utmoſt alacrity, he let ſlip no opportunity of haraſſing the enemy, and by continual alarms or ſallies fatigued and weakened them[r]. As an addition to all theſe misfortunes, the diſeaſes common in that country during the ſultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The priſoners communicated to them the peſtilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with ſuch violence, that few, either officers or ſoldiers, eſcaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thouſand men, a number hardly ſufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty[s]; and being now beſieged in their turn, they ſuffered all the miſeries from which the Imperialiſts were delivered. Lautrec, after ſtruggling long with ſo many diſappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind at the ſame time that the peſtilence

Aug. 15. waſted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his ſovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which ſo many brave men had fallen victims[t]. By his death, and the indiſpoſition of the other

[r] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxvi. p. 31, &c. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1139. Bellay, 114, &c.

[s] Bellay, 117, &c.

[t] P. Heuter. Rerum Auſtr. lib. x. c. 2. 231.

generals,

generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to ſuch a truſt. He, with troops no leſs diſpirited than reduced, retreated in diſorder to Averſa; which town being inveſted by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the neceſſity of conſenting, that he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, that his troops ſhould lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were ſaved; and the Emperor, by his own perſeverance and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the ſuperiority in Italy [u].

1528. Raiſe the ſiege.

THE loſs of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners was Doria's higheſt ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the ſervice of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A moſt favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterpriſe now preſented itſelf. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the peſtilence, was almoſt deſerted by its inhabitants; the French garriſon being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconſiderable number; Doria's emiſſaries found that ſuch of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and

Genoa recovers its liberty.

[u] Bellay, 117, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxv, xxvi.

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1528. Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to ſecond all his meaſures. Things wearing this promiſing aſpect, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a ſmall body of men which he landed, ſurprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garriſon, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and Doria took poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed or reſiſtance. Want of proviſions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to aboliſh ſuch an odious monument of their ſervitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

Sept. 12.

Diſintereſted conduct of Doria.

It was now in Doria's power to have rendered himſelf the ſovereign of his country, which he had ſo happily delivered from oppreſſion. The fame of his former actions, the ſucceſs of his preſent attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the ſupport of the Emperor, all conſpired to facilitate his attaining the ſupreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he ſacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf to the virtuous ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing liberty in his country, the higheſt object at which ambition can aim. Having aſſembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he aſſured them, that

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that the happineſs of ſeeing them once more in poſſeſſion of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his ſervices; that, more delighted with the name of citizen than of ſovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them the right of ſettling what form of government they would now chuſe to be eſtabliſhed among them. The people liſtened to him with tears of admiration and of joy. Twelve perſons were elected to new-model the conſtitution of the republic. The influence of Doria's virtue and example communicated itſelf to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the ſtate, ſeemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the form of government which has ſubſiſted with little variation ſince that time in Genoa, was eſtabliſhed with univerſal applauſe. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, reſpected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his profeſſions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preſerved a great aſcendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generoſity. The authority which he poſſeſſed was more flattering, as well as more ſatisfactory, than that derived from ſovereignty; a dominion founded in love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is ſtill reverenced by the Genoeſe, and he is diſtinguiſhed in their public monuments, and celebrated

in

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in the works of their hiſtorians, by the moſt honourable of all appellations, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY[x].

1529. Operations in the Milaneſe.

FRANCIS, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, diſcredited by ſo many loſſes, made new efforts in the Milaneſe. But the count of St. Pol, a raſh and unexperienced officer, to whom he gave the command, was no match for Antonio de Leyva, the ableſt of the Imperial generals. He, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, checked, with a handful of men, the briſk, but ill-concerted motions of the French; and though ſo infirm himſelf that he was carried conſtantly in a litter, he ſurpaſſed them, when occaſion required, no leſs in activity than in prudence. By an unexpected march, he ſurpriſed, defeated, and took priſoner the count of St. Pol, ruining the French army in the Milaneſe as entirely as the Prince of Orange had ruined that which beſieged Naples[y].

Negociations between Charles and Francis.

AMIDST theſe vigorous operations in the field, each party diſcovered an impatient deſire of peace, and continual negociations were carried on for that purpoſe. The French King, diſcouraged, and al-

[x] Guic. l. xix. p. 498. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1146. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxvi. p. 36, &c.

[y] Guic. l. xix. 520. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 233. Mem. de Bellay, 121.

moſt

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moſt exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, was reduced now to think of obtaining the releaſe of his ſons by conceſſions, not by the terror of his arms. The Pope hoped to recover by a treaty whatever he had loſt in the war. The Emperor, notwithſtanding the advantages which he had gained, had many reaſons to make him wiſh for an accommodation. Solyman, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Auſtrian territories with the whole force of the Eaſt. The Reformation gaining ground daily in Germany, the princes who favoured it had entered into a confederacy which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the Empire. The Spaniards murmured at a war of ſuch unuſual length, the weight of which reſted chiefly on them. The variety and extent of the Emperor's operations far exceeded what his revenues could ſupport; his ſucceſs hitherto had been owing chiefly to his own good fortune and to the abilities of his generals, nor could he flatter himſelf that they, with troops deſtitute of every thing neceſſary, would always triumph over enemies ſtill in a condition to renew their attacks. All parties, however, were at equal pains to conceal or to diſſemble their real ſentiments. The Emperor, that his inability to carry on the war might not be ſuſpected, inſiſted on high terms in the tone of a conqueror. The Pope, ſolicitous not to loſe his preſent allies before he came to any agreement with Charles, continued to make a thouſand proteſtations of fidelity to the former, while he privately negociated

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1529. negociated with the latter. Francis, afraid that his confederates might prevent him by treating for themſelves with the Emperor, had recourſe to many diſhonourable artifices, in order to turn their attention from the meaſures which he was taking to adjuſt all differences with his rival.

In this ſituation of affairs, when all the contending powers wiſhed for peace, but durſt not venture too haſtily on the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it, two ladies undertook to procure this bleſſing ſo much deſired by all Europe. Theſe were Margaret of Auſtria, dutcheſs dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's aunt, and Louiſe, Francis's mother. They agreed on an interview at Cambray, and being lodged in two adjoining houſes, between which a communication was opened, met together without ceremony or obſervation, and held daily conferences, to which no perſon whatever was admitted. As both were profoundly ſkilled in buſineſs, thoroughly acquainted with the ſecrets of their reſpective courts, and poſſeſſed with perfect confidence in each other, they ſoon made great progreſs towards a final accommodation; and the ambaſſadors of all the confederates waited in anxious ſuſpenſe to know their fate, the determination of which was intirely in the hands of thoſe illuſtrious negociators [z].

May.

[z] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. 133. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

1529. Separate treaty between the Pope and Charles. June 20.

But whatever diligence they uſed to haſten forward a general peace, the Pope had the addreſs and induſtry to get the ſtart of his allies, by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty for himſelf. The Emperor, impatient to viſit Italy in his way to Germany; and deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity in the one country, before he attempted to compoſe the diſorders which abounded in the other, found it neceſſary to ſecure at leaſt one alliance among the Italian ſtates, on which he might depend. That with Clement, who courted it with unwearied importunity, ſeemed more proper than any other. Charles being extremely ſolicitous to make ſome reparation for the inſults which he had offered to the ſacred character of the Pope, and to redeem paſt offences by new merit, granted Clement, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued ſeries of ſucceſs. Among other articles, he engaged to reſtore all the territories belonging to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; to re-eſtabliſh the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. In return for theſe ample conceſſions, Clement gave the Emperor the inveſtiture of Naples without the reſerve of any tribute, but the preſent of a white ſteed, in acknowledgment of his ſovereignty; abſolved all who had been concerned in aſſaulting and plundering Rome, and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth

of

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of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout their dominions [a].

Auguſt 5. Peace of Cambray between Charles and Francis.

THE account of this tranſaction quickened the negociations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louiſe to an immediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid ſerved as the baſis of that which they concluded; the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, That the Emperor ſhould not, for the preſent, demand the reſtitution of Burgundy, reſerving, however, in full force, his rights and pretenſions to that dutchy; That Francis ſhould pay two millions of crowns as the ranſom of his ſons, and, before they were ſet at liberty, ſhould reſtore ſuch towns as he ſtill held in the Milaneſe; That he ſhould reſign his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Flanders and of Artois; That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; That he ſhould immediately conſummate the marriage concluded between him and the Emperor's ſiſter Eleanora [b].

Advantageous for the Emperor.

THUS Francis, chiefly from his impatience to procure liberty to his ſons, ſacrificed every thing which had at firſt prompted him to take arms, or which had induced him, by continuing hoſtilities during nine ſucceſſive campaigns, to

[a] Guic. l. xix. 522.

[b] P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 234. Sandov. Hiſt. dell Emper. Car. V. ii. 28.

protract

protract the war to a length hardly known in Europe before the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies, and the impoſition of exorbitant taxes, became univerſal. The Emperor, by this treaty, was rendered ſole arbiter of the fate of Italy; he delivered his territories in the Netherlands from an unpleaſant badge of ſubjection; and after having baffled his rival in the field, he preſcribed to him the conditions of peace. The different conduct and ſpirit with which the two monarchs carried on the operations of war, led naturally to ſuch an iſſue of it. Charles, inclined by temper, as well as obliged by his ſituation, concerted all his ſchemes with caution, purſued them with perſeverance, and obſerving circumſtances and events with attention, let none eſcape that could be improved to advantage. Francis, more enterprizing than ſteady, undertook great deſigns with warmth, but often executed them with remiſſneſs; and diverted by his pleaſures, or deceived by his favourites, he loſt on ſeveral occaſions the moſt promiſing opportunities of ſucceſs. Nor had the character of the two rivals themſelves greater influence on the operations of war, than the oppoſite qualities of the generals whom they employed. Among the Imperialiſts, valour tempered with prudence; fertility of invention aided by experience; diſcernment to penetrate the deſigns of their enemies; a provident ſagacity in conducting their own meaſures; in a word, all the talents, which form great commanders and enſure victory, were conſpicuous.

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1529. Among the French, theſe qualities were either wanting, or the very reverſe of them abounded; nor could they boaſt of one man (unleſs we except Lautrec, who was always unfortunate) that equalled the merit of Peſcara, Leyva, Guaſto, the prince of Orange, and other leaders, whom Charles had to ſet in oppoſition to them. Bourbon, Moronè, Doria, who by their abilities and conduct might have been capable of balancing the ſuperiority which the Imperialiſts had acquired, were induced to abandon the ſervice of France, by the careleſſneſs of the King, and the malice or injuſtice of his counſellors; and the moſt fatal blows given to France during the progreſs of the war, proceeded from the deſpair and reſentment of theſe three perſons.

Diſhonourable to Francis.

THE hard conditions to which Francis was obliged to ſubmit were not the moſt afflicting circumſtances to him in the treaty of Cambray. He loſt his reputation and the confidence of all Europe, by abandoning his allies to his rival. Unwilling to enter into the details neceſſary for adjuſting their intereſts, or afraid that whatever he claimed for them muſt have been purchaſed by farther conceſſions on his own part, he gave them up in a body; and without the leaſt proviſion in their behalf, left the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, together with ſuch of the Neapolitan barons as had joined his army, to the mercy of the Emperor. They exclaimed loudly againſt this baſe and perfidious action,

action, of which Francis himself was so much ashamed, that, in order to avoid the pain of hearing from their ambassadors the reproaches which he justly merited, it was some time before he would consent to allow them an audience. Charles, on the other hand, was attentive to the interest of every person who had adhered to him; the rights of some of his Flemish subjects, who had estates or pretensions in France, were secured; one article was inserted, obliging Francis to restore the blood and memory of the Constable Bourbon; and to grant his heirs the possession of his lands which had been forfeited; another, by which indemnification was stipulated for those French gentlemen who had accompanied Bourbon in his exile [c]. This conduct, laudable in itself, and placed in the most striking light by a comparison with that of Francis, gained Charles as much esteem as the success of his arms had acquired him glory.

Henry acquiesces in it.

Francis did not treat the king of England with the same neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the steps of his negociation at Cambray, and luckily found that monarch in a situation which left him no choice, but to approve implicitly of his measures, and to concur with them. Henry had been soliciting the Pope for some time, in order to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Ara-

His scheme of being divorced from his Queen.

[c] Guic. l. xix. p. 525. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 235.

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gon his Queen. Several motives combined in prompting the King to urge his ſuit. As he was powerfully influenced at ſome ſeaſons by religious conſiderations, he entertained many ſcruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage with his brother's widow; his affections had long been eſtranged from the Queen, who was older than himſelf, and had loſt all the charms which ſhe poſſeſſed in the earlier part of her life; he was paſſionately deſirous of having male iſſue: Wolſey artfully fortified his ſcruples, and encouraged his hopes, that he might widen the breach between him and the Emperor, Catharine's nephew; and, what was more forcible perhaps in its operation than all theſe united, the King had conceived a violent love for the celebrated Anne Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty, and of greater accompliſhments, whom, as he found it impoſſible to gain her on other terms, he determined to raiſe to the throne. The Papal authority had often been interpoſed to grant divorces for reaſons leſs ſpecious than thoſe which Henry produced. When the matter was firſt propoſed to Clement, during his impriſonment in the caſtle of St. Angelo, as his hopes of recovering liberty depended entirely on the King of England, and his ally of France, he expreſſed the warmeſt inclination to gratify him. But no ſooner was he ſet free, than he diſcovered other ſentiments. Charles, who eſpouſed the protection of his aunt with zeal inflamed by reſentment, alarmed the Pope on the one hand with threats, which made a deep impreſſion on

on his timid mind; and allured him on the other with thoſe promiſes in favour of his family, which he afterwards accompliſhed. Upon the proſpect of theſe, Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the intereſt of the Romiſh religion in England, and to run the riſque of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the Papal ſee. After amuſing Henry during two years, with all the ſubtleties and chicane which the court of Rome can ſo dextrouſly employ to protract or defeat any cauſe; after diſplaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which the Engliſh hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, have found it no eaſy matter to trace and unravel; he, at laſt, recalled the powers of the delegates, whom he had appointed to judge in the point, avocated the cauſe to Rome, leaving the King no other hope of obtaining a divorce, but from the perſonal deciſion of the Pope himſelf. As Clement was now in ſtrict alliance with the Emperor, who had purchaſed his friendſhip by the exorbitant conceſſions which have been mentioned, Henry deſpaired of procuring any ſentence from the former but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and paſſions concurred in preventing him from relinquiſhing his ſcheme of a divorce, which he determined to accompliſh by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendſhip being neceſſary to counterbalance the Emperor's power, he, in

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order to ſecure that, not only offered no remonſtrances againſt the total neglect of their allies, in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the preſent of a large ſum, as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ranſom for his ſons [d].

Aug. 12. The Emperor viſits Italy.

Soon after the treaty of peace was concluded, the Emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, and a conſiderable body of troops. He left the government of Spain during his abſence, to the Empreſs Iſabella. By his long reſidence in that country, he had acquired ſuch thorough knowledge of the character of the people, that he could perfectly accommodate the maxims of his government to their genius. He could even aſſume, upon ſome occaſions, ſuch popular manners, as gained wonderfully upon the Spaniards. A ſtriking inſtance of his diſpoſition to gratify them had occurred a few days before he embarked for Italy: He was to make his public entry into the city of Barcelona; and ſome doubts having ariſen among the inhabitants, whether they ſhould receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona; Charles inſtantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring that he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed with this flattering expreſſion of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy, and the ſtates of the province ſwore allegiance to his ſon

[d] Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

Philip, as heir of the county of Barcelona. A similar oath had been taken in all the kingdoms of Spain, with equal satisfaction [e]. 1529.

THE Emperor appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror. Ambassadors from all the princes and states of that country attended his court, waiting to receive his decision with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he first landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the republic several new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. He affected to unite in his public entry into that city the state and majesty that suited an Emperor, with the humility becoming an obedient son of the church; and while at the head of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiss the feet of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner. The Italians, after suffering so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, and after having been long accustomed to form in their imagination a picture of Charles, which bore some resemblance to that of the barbarous monarchs of the Goths or Huns, who had formerly afflicted their country with like calamities, were surprised to see a Nov. 5.

[e] Sandov. ii. p. 50. Ferrer. ix. 116.

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1529. prince of a graceful appearance, affable and courteous in his deportment, of regular manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion [f]. They were ſtill more aſtoniſhed when he ſettled all the concerns of the princes and ſtates which now depended on him, with a degree of moderation and equity much beyond what they had expected.

His moderation and the motives of it.

CHARLES himſelf, when he ſet out from Spain, far from intending to give any ſuch extraordinary proof of his ſelf-denial, ſeems to have been reſolved to avail himſelf to the utmoſt of the ſuperiority which he had acquired in Italy. But various circumſtances concurred in pointing out the neceſſity of purſuing a very different courſe. The progreſs of the Turkiſh Sultan, who, after over-running

Sept. 13. Hungary, had penetrated into Auſtria, and laid ſiege to Vienna with an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, loudly called upon him to collect his whole force to oppoſe that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent

Oct. 16. conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the Vizier, ſoon obliged Solyman to abandon that enterprize with diſgrace and loſs, the religious diſorders ſtill growing in Germany rendered the preſence of the Emperor highly neceſſary there [g]: The Florentines, inſtead of giving their conſent to

[f] Sandov. Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V. ii. 50. 53, &c.

[g] Sleidan, 121. Guic. l. xx. 550.

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the re-eſtabliſhment of the Medici, which, by the treaty of Barcelona, the Emperor had bound himſelf to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the preparations for his journey had involved him in unuſual expences; and on this, as well as many other occaſions, the multiplicity of his affairs, together with the narrowneſs of his revenues, obliged him to contract the ſchemes which his boundleſs ambition was apt to form, and to forego preſent and certain advantages, that he might guard againſt more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all theſe conſiderations, finding it neceſſary to aſſume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his preſence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all paſt offences, but granted him the inveſtiture of the dutchy, together with his niece the King of Denmark's daughter, in marriage. He allowed the duke of Ferrara to keep poſſeſſion of all his dominions, adjuſting the points in diſpute between him and the Pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians, upon the reaſonable condition of their reſtoring whatever they had uſurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or Papal territories. In return for ſo many conceſſions, he exacted conſiderable ſums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his

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journey towards Germany with a magnificence suitable to his dignity [h].

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Re eſtabliſhes the authority of the Medici in Florence.

These treaties, which reſtored tranquillity to Italy after a tedious war, the calamities of which had chiefly affected that country, were publiſhed at Bologna with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of the year one thouſand five huudred and thirty, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, applauding the Emperor, to whoſe moderation and generoſity they aſcribed the bleſſings of peace which they had ſo long deſired. The Florentines alone did not partake of this general joy. Animated with a zeal for liberty more laudable than prudent, they determined to oppoſe the reſtoration of the Medici. The Imperial army had already entered their territories, and formed the ſiege of their capital. But though deſerted by all their allies, and left without any hope of ſuccour, they defended themſelves many months with an obſtinate valour worthy of better ſucceſs; and even when they ſurrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of ſecuring ſome remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his deſire to gratify the Pope, fruſtrated all their expectations, and aboliſhed their ancient form of government, raiſed Alexander di Medici to the ſame abſolute dominion over that ſtate, which his family have retained to the preſent times. Philibert de Chalons, prince

[h] Sandov. ii. 55, &c.

of

of Orange, the Imperial general, was killed during this ſiege. His eſtate and titles deſcended to his ſiſter Claude de Chalons, who was married to René, count of Naſſau, and ſhe tranſmitted to her poſterity of the houſe of Naſſau the title of Princes of Orange, which, by their ſuperior talents and valour, they have rendered ſo illuſtrious[i].

State of affairs, civil and religious, in Germany. Feb. 22 and 24.

After the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, which the Pope performed with the accuſtomed formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy[k]; and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His preſence became every day more neceſſary in that country, and was ſolicited with equal importunity by the catholics and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity, which the abſence of the Emperor, the conteſts between him and the Pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded them, the latter had gained much ground. Moſt of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only eſtabliſhed in their territories that form of worſhip which he approved, but had entirely ſuppreſſed the rites of the Romiſh church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almoſt one half the Germanick body had revolted

[i] Guic. l. xx. p. 341, &c. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 236.

[k] H. Cornel. Agrippa de duplici coronatione Car. V. ap. Scard. ii. 766.

from

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1530. from the Papal ſee, and its authority, even in thoſe provinces which had not hitherto ſhaken off the yoke, was conſiderably weakened, partly by the example of revolt in the neighbouring ſtates, partly by the ſecret progreſs of the reformed doctrine even in thoſe countries where it was not openly embraced. Whatever ſatisfaction the Emperor, while he was at open enmity with the ſee of Rome, might have felt in thoſe events which tended to mortify and embarraſs the Pope, he could not help perceiving now, that the religious diviſions in Germany would, in the end, prove extremely hurtful to the Imperial authority. The weakneſs of former Emperors had ſuffered the great vaſſals of the Empire to make ſuch ſucceſsful encroachments upon their power and prerogative, that during the whole courſe of a war, which had often required the exertion of his utmoſt ſtrength, Charles hardly drew any effectual aid from Germany, and found that magnificent titles or obſolete pretenſions were almoſt the only advantages which he had gained by ſwaying the Imperial ſceptre. He became fully ſenſible, that if he did not recover in ſome degree the prerogatives which his predeceſſors had loſt, and acquire the authority, as well as poſſeſs the name, of head of the Empire, his high dignity would contribute more to obſtruct than to promote his ambitious ſchemes. Nothing, he ſaw, was more eſſential towards attaining this, than to ſuppreſs opinions which might form new bonds of confederacy among the princes of the Empire, and unite

unite them by ties ſtronger and more ſacred than any political connection. Nothing ſeemed to lead more certainly to the accompliſhment of his deſign, than to employ zeal for the eſtabliſhed religion, of which he was the natural protector, as the inſtrument of extending his civil authority. 1530.

Proceedings of the Diet at Spires, March 15. 1529.

ACCORDINGLY, a proſpect no ſooner opened of coming to an accommodation with the Pope, than, by the Emperor's appointment, a diet of the Empire was held at Spires, in order to take into conſideration the ſtate of religion. The decree of the diet aſſembled there in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, which was almoſt equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The greateſt delicacy of addreſs, however, was requiſite in proceeding to any deciſion more rigorous. The minds of men, kept in perpetual agitation by a controverſy carried on, during twelve years, without intermiſſion of debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed to an high degree. They were accuſtomed to innovations, and ſaw the boldeſt of them ſucceſsful. Having not only aboliſhed old rites, but ſubſtituted new forms in their place, they were influenced as much by attachment to the ſyſtem which they had embraced, as by averſion to that which they had abandoned. Luther himſelf, of a ſpirit not to be worn out by the length and obſtinacy of the combat, or to become

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come remiſs upon ſucceſs, continued the attack with as much vigour as he had begun it. His diſciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal, and ſome ſurpaſſed him in learning, were no leſs capable than their maſter to conduct the controverſy in the propereſt manner. Many of the laity, ſome even of the princes, trained up amidſt theſe inceſſant diſputations, and in the habit of liſtening to the arguments of the contending parties, who alternately appealed to them as judges, came to be profoundly ſkilled in all the queſtions which were agitated, and, upon occaſion, could ſhew themſelves not inexpert in any of the arts with which theſe theological encounters were managed. It was obvious from all theſe circumſtances, that any violent deciſion of the diet muſt have immediately precipitated matters into confuſion, and have kindled in Germany the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other commiſſioners appointed by the Emperor, demanded of the diet, was, to enjoin thoſe ſtates of the Empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree iſſued againſt Luther at Worms in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-four, to perſevere in the obſervation of it, and to prohibit the other ſtates from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from aboliſhing the Maſs, before the meeting of a general council. After much diſpute, a decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices[1].

[1] Sleid. Hiſt. 117.

THE

THE Elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free cities[m], entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt this decree, as unjuſt and impious. On that account they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of PROTESTANTS[n], an appellation which hath ſince become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiſcriminately to all the ſects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman ſee. Not ſatisfied with this declaration of their diſſent from the decree of the diet, the Proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors into Italy, to lay their grievances before the Emperor, from whom they met with the moſt diſcouraging reception. Charles was at that time in cloſe union with the Pope, and ſolicitous to attach him inviolably to his intereſt. During their long reſidence at Bologna, they held many conſultations concerning the moſt effectual means of extirpating the hereſies which had ſprung up in Germany. Clement, whoſe cautious and timid mind the propoſal of a general council filled with horror, even beyond what Popes, the conſtant enemies of ſuch aſſemblies, uſually feel, employed every argument to diſſuade the Emperor from conſenting to that meaſure. He repre-

1530. The followers of Luther proteſt againſt them. April 19.

Deliberations of the Pope and Emperor.

[m] The fourteen cities were, Straſburgh, Nuremburgh, Ulm, Conſtance, Reutlingen, Windſheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Iſna, Weiſſemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

[n] Sleid. Hiſt. 119. F. Paul. Hiſt. p. 45. Seckend. ii. 127.

ſented

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ſented general councils as factious, ungovernable, preſumptuous, formidable to civil authority, and too ſlow in their operations to remedy diſorders which required an immediate cure. Experience, he ſaid, had now taught both the Emperor and himſelf, that forbearance and lenity, inſtead of ſoothing the ſpirit of innovation, had rendered it more enterprizing and preſumptuous; it was neceſſary, therefore, to have recourſe to the rigorous methods which ſuch a deſperate caſe required; Leo's ſentence of excommunication, together with the decree of the diet at Worms, ſhould be carried into execution, and it was incumbent on the Emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe thoſe, on whom the reverence due either to eccleſiaſtical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whoſe views were very different from the Pope's, and who became daily more ſenſible how obſtinate and deep-rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Proteſtants by means leſs violent, and conſidered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpoſe; but promiſed, if gentler arts failed of ſucceſs, that then he would exert himſelf with rigour to reduce to the obedience of the holy ſee thoſe ſtubborn enemies of the Catholic faith [o].

Emperor preſent at the Diet of Augſburg, March 22, 1530.

SUCH were the ſentiments with which the Emperor ſet out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the Empire to be held at Augſ-

[o] F. Paul, xlvii. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hiſt. de Confeſſ. d'Auxbourgh, par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

burg. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of obſerving the diſpoſition of the Germans with regard to the points in controverſy, and found their minds every where ſo much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him, that nothing tending to ſeverity or rigour ought to be attempted, until all other meaſures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augſburg with extraordinary pomp; and found there ſuch a full aſſembly of the members of the diet, as was ſuitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration, and to the honour of an Emperor, who, after a long abſence, returned to them crowned with reputation and ſucceſs. His preſence ſeems to have communicated to all parties an unuſual ſpirit of moderation and deſire of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, leſt he ſhould offend the Emperor by bringing into his preſence a perſon excommunicated by the Pope, and who had been the author of all thoſe diſſenſions which it now appeared ſo difficult to compoſe. At the Emperor's deſire, all the Proteſtant princes forbad the divines who accompanied them, to preach in public during their reſidence at Augſburg. For the ſame reaſon they employed Melancthon, the man of the greateſt learning, as well as of the moſt pacific and gentle ſpirit among the Reformers, to draw up a confeſſion of their faith, expreſſed in terms as little offenſive to the Roman Catholics,

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1530. The confeſſion of Augſburg.

Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who ſeldom ſuffered the rancour of controverſy to envenom his ſtyle, even in writings purely polemical, executed a taſk ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition with great moderation and addreſs. The Creed which he compoſed, known by the name of the *Confeſſion of Augſburg*, from the place where it was preſented, was read publicly in the diet. Some Popiſh divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadverſions; a diſpute enſued between them and Melancthon, ſeconded by ſome of his brethren; but though Melancthon ſoftened ſome articles, made conceſſions with regard to others, and put the leaſt exceptionable ſenſe upon all; though the Emperor himſelf laboured with great earneſtneſs to reconcile the contending parties; ſo many marks of diſtinction were now eſtabliſhed, and ſuch inſuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition ſeemed utterly deſperate[P].

FROM the divines, among whom his endeavours had been ſo unſucceſsful, Charles turned to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find them, how deſirous ſoever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more diſpoſed

[P] Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr. Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Von der Hard. Hiſt. Liter. Reform. Lipſ. 1717. fol. p. 159.

than

than the former to renounce their opinions. At that time, zeal for religion took poſſeſſion of the minds of men, to a degree which can ſcarcely be conceived by thoſe who live in an age when the paſſions excited by the firſt manifeſtation of truth, and the firſt recovery of liberty, have in a great meaſure ceaſed to operate. This zeal was then of ſuch ſtrength as to overcome attachment to their political intereſt, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and other chiefs of the Proteſtants, though ſolicited ſeparately by the Emperor, and allured by the promiſe or proſpect of thoſe advantages which it was known they were moſt ſolicitous to attain, refuſed, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cauſe of God, for the ſake of any earthly acquiſition [q]. 1530.

Severe decree againſt the Proteſtants.

EVERY ſcheme in order to gain or diſunite the Proteſtant party proving abortive, nothing now remained for the Emperor but to take ſome vigorous meaſures towards aſſerting the doctrines and authority of the eſtabliſhed church. Theſe, Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual courſe of dealing with ſuch obſtinate heretics. In compliance with his opinions and remonſtrances, the diet iſſued a decree, condemning moſt of the peculiar tenets held by the Proteſt- Nov. 19.

[q] Sleid. 132. Scultet. Annal. 158.

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ants; forbidding any perſon to protect or tolerate ſuch as taught them; enjoining a ſtrict obſervance of the eſtabliſhed rites; and prohibiting any further innovation under ſevere penalties. All orders of men were required to aſſiſt with their perſons and fortunes in carrying this decree into execution; and ſuch as refuſed to obey it, were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the Imperial chamber, the ſupreme court of judicature in the Empire. To all which was ſubjoined a promiſe, that an application ſhould be made to the Pope, requiring him to call a general council within ſix months, in order to terminate all controverſies by its ſovereign deciſions [r].

They enter into a league at Smalkalde.

THE ſeverity of this decree, which was conſidered as a prelude to the moſt violent perſecution, alarmed the Proteſtants, and convinced them that the Emperor was reſolved on their deſtruction. The dread of thoſe calamities which were ready to fall on the church, oppreſſed the feeble ſpirit of Melancthon; and, as if the cauſe had already been deſperate, he gave himſelf up to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by ſeveral treatiſes which he addreſſed to them, was not diſconcerted or diſmayed at the proſpect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his

[r] Sleid. 139.

other

other desponding disciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon those truths which they had lately asserted with such laudable boldness[s]. His exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popish princes of the Empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded[t]. This convinced them that it was necessary to stand on their guard; and that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and with these sentiments concerning the conduct proper for themselves, they assembled at Smalkalde. There they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors[u], by which they formed the Protestant states of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy.

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Decem. 22.

An affair not connected with religion furnished them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whose ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increase of his power and grandeur, had formed a scheme of continuing the Imperial crown in his family, by procuring

The Emperor proposes to have his brother elected King of the Romans.

[s] Seck. ii. 180. Sleid. 140. [t] Seck. ii. 200. iii. 11.
[u] Sleid. Hist. 142.

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1530. his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans. The preſent juncture was favourable for the execution of that deſign. The Emperor's arms had been every where victorious; he had given law to all Europe at the late peace; no rival now remained in a condition to balance or to control him; and the Electors, dazzled with the ſplendour of his ſucceſs, or overawed by the greatneſs of his power, durſt ſcarcely diſpute the will of a prince, whoſe ſolicitations carried with them the authority of commands. Nor did he want plauſible reaſons to enforce the meaſure. The affairs of his other kingdoms, he ſaid, obliged him to be often abſent from Germany; the growing diſorders occaſioned by the controverſies about religion, as well as the formidable neighbourhood of the Turks, who continually threatened to break in with their deſolating armies into the heart of the Empire, required the conſtant preſence of a prince endowed with prudence capable of compoſing the former, and with power as well as valour ſufficient to repel the latter. His brother Ferdinand poſſeſſed theſe qualities in an eminent degree; by reſiding long in Germany, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of its conſtitution and manners; having been preſent almoſt from the firſt riſe of the religious diſſenſions, he knew what remedies were moſt proper, what the Germans could bear, and how to apply them; as his own dominions lay on the Turkiſh frontier, he was the natural defender of Germany againſt the invaſions of the Infidels, being prompted

prompted by intereſt no leſs than he would be bound in duty to oppoſe them. 1530.

The Proteſtants averſe to it.

THESE arguments made little impreſſion on the Proteſtants. Experience taught them, that nothing had contributed more to the undiſturbed progreſs of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long abſence of Charles, and the ſlackneſs of the reins of government which theſe occaſioned. Conſcious of the advantages which their cauſe had derived from this relaxation of government, they were unwilling to render it more vigorous, by giving themſelves a new and a fixed maſter. They perceived clearly the extent of Charles's ambition, that he aimed at rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in his family, and would of courſe eſtabliſh in the Empire an abſolute dominion, to which elective princes could not have aſpired with equal facility. They determined therefore to oppoſe the election of Ferdinand with the utmoſt vigour, and to rouſe their countrymen, by their example and exhortations, to withſtand this encroachment on their liberties. The Elector of Saxony, accordingly, not only refuſed to be preſent at the electoral college, which the Emperor ſummoned to meet at Cologne, but inſtructed his eldeſt ſon to appear there, and to proteſt againſt the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and ſubverſive of the liberties of the Empire. But the other Electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his abſence or proteſt, choſe Ferdinand King of the

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He is choſen.

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Romans; who a few days after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle [x].

Negociations of the Proteſtants with France;

When the Proteſtants, who were aſſembled a ſecond time at Smalkalde, received an account of this tranſaction, and heard, at the ſame time, that proſecutions were commenced, in the Imperial chamber, againſt ſome of their number, on account of their religious principles, they thought it neceſſary, not only to renew their former confederacy, but immediately to diſpatch their ambaſſadors into France and England. Francis had obſerved, with all the jealouſy of a rival, the reputation which the Emperor had acquired by his ſeeming diſintereſtedneſs and moderation in ſettling the affairs of Italy; and beheld with great concern the ſucceſsful ſtep which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a King of the Romans. Nothing, however, would have been more impolitic than to precipitate his kingdom into a new war when exhauſted by extraordinary efforts, and diſcouraged by ill ſucceſs, before it had got time to recruit its ſtrength, or to forget paſt misfortunes. As no provocation had been given by the Emperor, and hardly a pretext for a rupture had been afforded him, he could not violate a treaty of peace which he himſelf had ſo lately ſolicited, without forfeiting the eſteem of all Europe, and being deteſted as a prince void of probity

Feb. 29.

[x] Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 6. p. 249.

and

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and honour. He obſerved, with great joy, powerful factions beginning to form in the Empire; he liſtened with the utmoſt eagerneſs to the complaints of the Proteſtant princes; and without ſeeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe ſparks of political diſcord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpoſe, he ſent William de Bellay, one of the ableſt negociators in France, into Germany, who viſiting the courts of the malcontent princes, and heightening their ill-humour by various arts, concluded an alliance between them and his maſter[y], which though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occaſions to Charles's ambitious projects; and ſhewed the diſcontented princes of Germany, where, for the future, they might find a protector no leſs able than willing to undertake their defence againſt the encroachments of the Emperor.

with England.

THE King of England, highly incenſed againſt Charles, in complaiſance to whom, the Pope had long retarded, and now openly oppoſed his divorce, was no leſs diſpoſed than Francis to ſtrengthen a league which might be rendered ſo formidable to the Emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into ſuch a labyrinth of ſchemes and negociations, and he was,

[y] Bellay, 129, a. 130. b. Seck. iii. 14.

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at the ſame time, ſo intent on aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in England, that he had no leiſure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to reſt ſatisfied with giving general promiſes, together with a ſmall ſupply in money to the confederates of Smalkalde [z].

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

MEANWHILE, many circumſtances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of hereſy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his intereſt to conſolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Proteſtants, who were conſiderable as well by their numbers as by their zeal, had acquired additional weight and importance by their joining in that confederacy into which the raſh ſteps taken at Augſburg had forced them. Having now diſcovered their own ſtrength, they deſpiſed the deciſions of the Imperial chamber; and being ſecure of foreign protection, were ready to ſet the head of the Empire at defiance. At the ſame time the peace with France was precarious, the friendſhip of an irreſolute and intereſted pontiff was not to be relied on; and Solyman, in order to repair the diſcredit and loſs which his arms had ſuſtained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Auſtria

[z] Herbert, 152. 154.

with more numerous forces. On all theſe accounts, eſpecially the laſt, a ſpeedy accommodation with the malcontent princes became neceſſary, not only for the accompliſhment of his future ſchemes, but for enſuring his preſent ſafety. Negociations were, accordingly, carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his aſſociates; after many delays, occaſioned by their jealouſy of the Emperor, and of each other, after innumerable difficulties ariſing from the inflexible nature of religious tenets, which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquiſhed in the ſame manner as points of political intereſt, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified ſolemnly in the diet at Ratiſbon. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, That univerſal peace be eſtabliſhed in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within ſix months the Emperor ſhall endeavour to procure; That no perſon ſhall be moleſted on account of religion; That a ſtop ſhall be put to all proceſſes begun by the Imperial chamber againſt Proteſtants, and the ſentences already paſſed to their detriment ſhall be declared void. On their part, the Proteſtants engaged to aſſiſt the Emperor with all their forces in reſiſting the invaſion of the Turks[a]. Thus, by their firmneſs in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themſelves of the

Grants them favourable terms. July 23. Auguſt 3.

[a] Du Mont Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87. 89.

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Emperor's ſituation, the Proteſtants obtained terms which amounted almoſt to a toleration of their religion; all the conceſſions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Proteſtants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious ſect, came henceforth to be conſidered as a political body of no ſmall conſequence [b].

Campaign in Hungary.

THE intelligence which Charles received of Soliman's having entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thouſand men, brought the deliberations of the diet at Ratiſbon to a period; the contingent both of troops and money, which each prince was to furniſh towards the defence of the Empire, having been already ſettled. The Proteſtants, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themſelves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces which exceeded in number the quota impoſed on them; the Catholics imitating their example, one of the greateſt and beſt appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, aſſembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans under the marquis del Guaſto; by ſome heavy-armed cavalry from the Low-Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raiſed in Bohemia, Auſtria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thouſand diſciplined

[b] Sleid. 149, &c. Seck. iii. 19.

foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, beſides a prodigious ſwarm of irregulars. Of this vaſt army, worthy the firſt prince in Chriſtendom, the Emperor took the command in perſon; and mankind waited in ſuſpenſe the iſſue of a deciſive battle between the two greateſt monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with ſuch exceſſive caution, that a campaign, for which ſuch immenſe preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impoſſible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Conſtantinople towards the end of autumn [c]. It is remarkable, that in ſuch a martial age, when every gentleman was a ſoldier, and every prince a general, this was the firſt time that Charles, who had already carried on ſuch extenſive wars, and gained ſo many victories, appeared at the head of his troops. In this firſt eſſay of his arms, to have oppoſed ſuch a leader as Solyman, was no ſmall honour; to have obliged him to retreat, merited very conſiderable praiſe.

September and October.

About the beginning of this campaign, the Elector of Saxony died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John Frederick. The Reformation rather gained than loſt by that event; the new Elector,

Auguſt 16.

[c] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxx. p. 100, &c. Barre Hiſt. de l'Empire, i. 8. 347.

no

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no leſs attached than his predeceſſors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the ſtation which they had held at the head of the Proteſtant party, and defended, with the boldneſs and zeal of youth, that cauſe which they had foſtered and reared with the caution of more advanced age.

The Emperor's interview with the Pope in his way to Spain.

IMMEDIATELY after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, impatient to reviſit Spain, ſet out on his way thither, for Italy. As he was extremely deſirous of an interview with the Pope, they met a ſecond time at Bologna, with the ſame external demonſtrations of reſpect and friendſhip, but with little of that confidence which had ſubſiſted between them during their late negociations there. Clement was much diſſatisfied with the Emperor's proceedings at Augſburg; his conceſſions with regard to the ſpeedy convocation of a council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the ſevere decree againſt the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Proteſtants at Ratiſbon, and the more explicit promiſe concerning a council, with which it was accompanied, had irritated him ſtill farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a council would be attended with ſalutary effects, and partly from his deſire to pleaſe the Germans, having ſolicited the Pope by his ambaſſadors to call that aſſembly without delay, and now urging the ſame thing in perſon, Clement was greatly embarraſſed what reply he ſhould make to a requeſt which it was indecent

Negociations concerning a general council;

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to refuſe, and dangerous to grant. He endeavoured at firſt to divert Charles from the meaſure; but, finding him inflexible, he had recourſe to artifices, which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat, the calling of that aſſembly. Under the plauſible pretext of its being previouſly neceſſary to ſettle, with all parties concerned, the place of the council's meeting; the manner of its proceedings; the right of the perſons who ſhould be admitted to vote; and the authority of their deciſions; he diſpatched a nuncio, accompanied by an ambaſſador from the Emperor, to the Elector of Saxony as head of the Proteſtants. With regard to each of theſe articles, inextricable difficulties and conteſts aroſe. The Proteſtants demanded a council to be held in Germany; the Pope inſiſted that it ſhould meet in Italy: they contended, that all points in diſpute ſhould be determined by the words of holy ſcripture alone; he conſidered not only the decrees of the church, but the opinions of fathers and doctors, as of equal authority: they required a free council, in which the divines, commiſſioned by different churches, ſhould be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the council in ſuch a manner as would render it entirely dependant on his pleaſure. Above all, the Proteſtants thought it unreaſonable, that they ſhould bind themſelves to ſubmit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles theſe decrees were to be founded, by what perſons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding

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proceeding they would obſerve. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unneceſſary to call a council, if thoſe who demanded it did not previouſly declare their reſolution to acquieſce in its decrees. In order to adjuſt ſuch a variety of points, many expedients were propoſed, and the negociations ſpun out to ſuch a length, as effectually anſwered Clement's purpoſe of putting off the meeting of a council, without drawing on himſelf the whole infamy of obſtructing a meaſure which all Europe deemed ſo eſſential to the good of the church [d].

and for preſerving the tranquillity of Italy.

TOGETHER with this negociation about calling a council, the Emperor carried on another, which he had ſtill more at heart, for ſecuring the peace eſtabliſhed in Italy. As Francis had renounced his pretenſions in that country with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the firſt pretext afforded him, or embrace the firſt opportunity which preſented itſelf, of recovering what he had loſt. It became neceſſary on this account, to take meaſures for aſſembling an army able to oppoſe him. As his treaſury, drained by a long war, could not ſupply the ſums requiſite for keeping ſuch a body conſtantly on foot, he attempted to throw that burden on his allies, and to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions at their expence, by propoſing that

[d] F. Paul Hiſt. 61. Seckend. iii. 73.

the

the Italian ſtates ſhould enter into a league of defence againſt all invaders; that, on the firſt appearance of danger, an army ſhould be raiſed and maintained at the common charge; and that Antonio de Leyva ſhould be appointed the generaliſſimo. Nor was the propoſal unacceptable to Clement, though for a reaſon very different from that which induced the Emperor to make it. He hoped, by this expedient, to deliver Italy from the German and Spaniſh veterans, which had ſo long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and ſtill kept them in ſubjection to the Imperial yoke. A league was accordingly concluded; all the Italian ſtates, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it; the ſum, which each of the contracting parties ſhould furniſh towards maintaining the army was fixed; the Emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave ſo much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to ſupport. Having diſbanded part of them, and removed the reſt to Sicily and Spain, he embarked on board Doria's gallies, and arrived at Barcelona[c].

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Feb. 24.

April 22.

Notwithstanding all his precautions for ſecuring the peace of Germany, and maintaining that ſyſtem which he had eſtabliſhed in Italy, the Emperor became every day more and more apprehenſive that both would be ſoon diſturbed by the intrigues or arms of the French King.

Deſigns and negociations of the French King againſt the Emperor;

[c] Guic. l. 20. 551. Ferreras, ix. 149.

His

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1533. His apprehenſions were well founded, as nothing but the deſperate ſituation of his affairs could have brought Francis to give his conſent to a treaty ſo diſhonourable and diſadvantageous as that of Cambray: he, at the very time of ratifying it, had formed a reſolution to obſerve it no longer than neceſſity compelled him, and took a ſolemn proteſt, though with the moſt profound ſecrecy, againſt ſeveral articles in the treaty, particularly that whereby he renounced all pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, as unjuſt, injurious to his heirs, and invalid. One of the crown lawyers, by his command, entered a proteſt to the ſame purpoſe, and with the like ſecrecy, when the ratification of the treaty was regiſtered in the parliament of Paris[f]. Francis ſeems to have thought that, by employing an artifice unworthy of a King, deſtructive of public faith, and of the mutual confidence on which all tranſactions between nations are founded, he was releaſed from any obligation to perform the moſt ſolemn promiſes, or to adhere to the moſt ſacred engagements. From the moment he concluded the peace of Cambray, he wiſhed and watched for an opportunity of violating it with ſafety. He endeavoured for that reaſon to ſtrengthen his alliance with the King of England, whoſe friendſhip he cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity. He put the military force of his own kingdom on a better and more reſpectable footing than ever.

[f] Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 52.

He

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He artfully fomented the jealouſy and diſcontent of the German princes.

particularly with the Pope.

But above all, Francis laboured to break the ſtrict confederacy which ſubſiſted between Charles and Clement; and he had ſoon the ſatisfaction to obſerve appearances of diſguſt and alienation ariſing in the mind of that ſuſpicious and intereſted Pontiff, which gave him hopes that their union would not be laſting. As the Emperor's deciſion in favour of the duke of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope, Francis aggravated the injuſtice of that proceeding, and flattered Clement that the papal ſee would find in him a more impartial and no leſs powerful protector. As the importunity with which Charles demanded a council was extremely offenſive to the Pope, Francis artfully created obſtacles to prevent it, and attempted to divert the German princes, his allies, from inſiſting ſo obſtinately on that point[s]. As the Emperor had gained ſuch an aſcendant over Clement by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the ſame irreſiſtible bait, propoſing a marriage between his ſecond ſon, Henry duke of Orleans, and Catharine, the daughter of the Pope's couſin Laurence di Medici. On the firſt overture of this match, the Emperor could not perſuade himſelf that Francis really intended to debaſe the royal blood of France, by an

[s] Bellay, 141, &c. Seck. iii. 48. F. Paul, 63.

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1533. alliance with Catharine, whoſe anceſtors had been ſo lately private citizens and merchants in Florence, and believed that he meant only to flatter or amuſe the ambitious Pontiff. He thought it neceſſary, however, to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a dazzling offer might have made, by promiſing to break off the marriage which had been agreed on between his own niece the King of Denmark's daughter, and the Duke of Milan, and to ſubſtitute Catharine in her place. But the French ambaſſador producing unexpectedly full powers to conclude the marriage treaty with the duke of Orleans, this expedient had no effect. Clement was ſo highly pleaſed with an honour which added ſuch luſtre and dignity to the houſe of Medici, that he offered to grant Catharine the inveſtiture of conſiderable territories in Italy, by way of portion; he ſeemed ready to ſupport Francis in proſecuting his ancient claims in that country, and conſented to a perſonal interview with that Monarch[g].

Interview between the Pope and Francis.

CHARLES was at the utmoſt pains to prevent a meeting, in which nothing was likely to paſs but what would be of detriment to him; nor could he bear, after he had twice condeſcended to viſit the Pope in his own territories, that Clement ſhould beſtow ſuch a mark of diſtinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by ſea, at an un-

[g] Guic. l. xx. 551. 553. Bellay, 138.

favourable ſeaſon, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the Pope's eagerneſs to accompliſh the match overcame all the ſcruples of pride, or fear, or jealouſy, which would probably have influenced him on any other occaſion. The interview, notwithſtanding ſeveral artifices of the Emperor to prevent it, took place at Marſeilles with extraordinary pomp, and demonſtrations of confidence on both ſides; and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the ſequel as pernicious to France, as it was then thought diſhonourable, was conſummated. But whatever ſchemes may have been ſecretly concerted by the Pope and Francis in favour of the duke of Orleans, to whom his father propoſed to make over all his rights in Italy, ſo careful were they to avoid giving any cauſe of offence to the Emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them [h]; and even in the marriage-articles, Catharine renounced all claims and pretenſions in Italy, except to the dutchy of Urbino [i].

1533. October.

Pope's conduct with regard to the King of England's divorce.

But at the very time when he was carrying on theſe negociations, and forming this connection with Francis, which gave ſo great umbrage to the Emperor, ſuch was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he ſuffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the King of England, and was no leſs attentive to gratify

[h] Guic. l. xx. 555.
[i] Du Mont. Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. 101.

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him in that particular, than if the moſt cordial union had ſtill ſubſiſted between them. Henry's ſuit for a divorce had now continued near ſix years; during all which period the Pope negociated, promiſed, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and diſappointments longer than could have been expected from a prince of ſuch a choleric and impetuous temper, the patience of Henry was at laſt ſo much exhauſted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had ſolicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, by a ſentence founded on the authority of Univerſities, Doctors, and Rabbies, who had been conſulted with reſpect to the point, annulled the King's marriage with Catharine; her daughter was declared illegitimate; and Anne Boleyne acknowledged as Queen of England. At the ſame time Henry began not only to neglect and to threaten the Pope, whom he had hitherto courted, but to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been ſuch a zealous defender. Clement, who had already ſeen ſo many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, became apprehenſive at laſt that England might imitate their example, and partly from his ſolicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French King's ſolicitations, determined to give Henry ſuch ſatisfaction as might ſtill retain him within the boſom of the church. But the violence of the Cardinals, devoted to the Emperor, did not allow the Pope leiſure for executing

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ing this prudent reſolution, and hurried him, with a precipitation fatal to the Roman See, to iſſue a bull reſcinding Cranmer's ſentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time ſpecified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deſerted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any meaſures with the court of Rome; his ſubjects ſeconded his reſentment and indignation; an act of Parliament was paſſed, aboliſhing the papal power and juriſdiction in England; by another, the King was declared ſupreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was veſted in him. That vaſt fabric of eccleſiaſtical dominion which had been raiſed with ſuch art, and of which the foundations ſeemed to have been laid ſo deep, being no longer ſupported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry himſelf, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romiſh church as fiercely as he attacked its juriſdiction. He alternately perſecuted the Proteſtants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter. But his ſubjects, being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not chuſe to ſtop ſhort at the preciſe point preſcribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break ſome of their fetters, they were ſo impatient to ſhake off what ſtill remained[k], that, in the following reign, with the ap-

Papal authority aboliſhed in England.

[k] Herbert. Burn. Hiſt. of Reform.

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1534. plauſe of the greater part of the nation, a total ſeparation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of diſcipline and juriſdiction.

Death of Clement VII.

A SHORT delay might have ſaved the See of Rome from all the unhappy conſequences of Clement's raſhneſs. Soon after his ſentence againſt Henry, he fell into a languiſhing diſtemper, which gradually waſting his conſtitution, put an end to his Pontificate, the moſt unfortunate, both during its continuance, and by its effects, that the church had known for many ages. The very day on which the cardinals entered the conclave, they raiſed to the papal throne Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, and the oldeſt member of that body, who aſſumed the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleaſed, after an interval of more than an hundred years, to ſee the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen. Perſons more capable of judging, formed a favourable preſage of his adminiſtration, from the experience which he had acquired under four Pontificates, as well as the character of prudence and moderation which he had uniformly maintained in a ſtation of great eminence, and during an active period that required both talents and addreſs[1].

Sept. 25.

Election of Paul III. Oct. 13.

EUROPE, it is probable, owed the continuance of its peace to the death of Clement; for although

[1] Guic. l. xx. 556. F. Paul, 64.

no

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no traces remain in history of any league concluded between him and Francis, it is scarcely to be doubted but that he would have seconded the operations of the French arms in Italy, that he might have gratified his ambition by seeing one of his family possessed of the supreme power in Florence, and another in Milan. But upon the election of Paul III. who had hitherto adhered uniformly to the Imperial interest, Francis found it necessary to suspend his operations for some time, and to put off the commencement of hostilities against the Emperor, on which, before the death of Clement, he had been fully determined.

Insurrection of the Anabaptists in Germany.

While Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved so fatal to himself and his subjects, a transaction of a very singular nature was carried on in Germany. Among many beneficial and salutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cause, it was attended, as must be the case in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with some consequences of an opposite nature. When the human mind is roused by grand objects, and agitated by strong passions, its operations acquire such force, that they are apt to become irregular and extravagant. Upon any great revolution in religion, such irregularities abound most, at that particular period, when men, having thrown off the authority of their ancient principles, do not yet fully comprehend the nature, or feel the obligation

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1534. of thoſe new tenets which they have embraced. The mind, in that ſituation, puſhing forward with the boldneſs which prompted it to reject eſtabliſhed opinions, and not guided by a clear knowledge of the ſyſtem ſubſtituted in their place, diſdains all reſtraint, and runs into wild notions, which often lead to ſcandalous or immoral conduct. Thus, in the firſt ages of the chriſtian church, many of the new converts, having renounced their ancient ſyſtems of religious faith, and being but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity, broached the moſt extravagant opinions, equally ſubverſive of piety and virtue; all which errors diſappeared or were exploded when the knowledge of religion increaſed, and came to be more generally diffuſed. In like manner, ſoon after Luther's appearance, the raſhneſs or ignorance of ſome of his diſciples led them to publiſh tenets no leſs abſurd than pernicious, which being propoſed to men extremely illiterate, but fond of novelty, and at a time when their minds were occupied chiefly with religious ſpeculations, gained too eaſy credit and authority among them. To theſe cauſes muſt be imputed the extravagances of Muncer, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five, as well as the rapid progreſs which his opinions made among the peaſants; but though the inſurrection excited by that fanatic was ſoon ſuppreſſed, ſeveral of his followers lurked in different places, and endeavoured privately to propagate his opinions.

1534. Origin and tenets of that ſect.

In thoſe provinces of Upper Germany, which had already been ſo cruelly waſted by their enthuſiaſtic rage, the magiſtrates watched their motions with ſuch ſevere attention, that many of them found it neceſſary to retire into other countries, ſome were puniſhed, others driven into exile, and their errors were entirely rooted out. But in the Netherlands and Weſtphalia, where the pernicious tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guarded againſt with leſs care, they got admittance into ſeveral towns, and ſpread the infection of their principles. The moſt remarkable of their religious tenets related to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which, as they contended, ought to be adminiſtered only to perſons grown up to years of underſtanding, and ſhould be performed, not by ſprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: for this reaſon they condemned the baptiſm of infants, and rebaptiſing all whom they admitted into their ſociety, the ſect came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Anabaptiſts. To this peculiar notion concerning baptiſm, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apoſtolic age, and contains nothing inconſiſtent with the peace and order of human ſociety, they added other principles of a moſt enthuſiaſtic as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that, among Chriſtians who had the precepts of the goſpel to direct, and the ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtracy was not only unneceſſary, but an unlawful encroachment on their

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ſpiritual liberty; that the diſtinctions occaſioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, which conſiders all men as equal, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed; that all Chriſtians, throwing their poſſeſſions into one common ſtock, ſhould live together in that ſtate of equality which becomes members of the ſame family; that as neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of the New Teſtament, had impoſed any reſtraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they ſhould uſe that liberty which God himſelf had granted to the patriarchs.

Settle in Munſter.

SUCH opinions, propagated and maintained with enthuſiaſtic zeal and boldneſs, were not long without producing the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptiſt prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, poſſeſſed with the rage of making proſelytes, fixed their reſidence at Munſter, an Imperial city in Weſtphalia, of the firſt rank, under the ſovereignty of its biſhop, but governed by its own ſenate and conſuls. As neither of theſe fanatics wanted the talents requiſite in deſperate enterpriſes, great reſolution, the appearance of ſanctity, bold pretenſions to inſpiration, and a confidentand plauſible manner of diſcourſing, they ſoon gained many converts. Among theſe were Rothman, who had firſt preached the Proteſtant doctrine in Munſter, and Cnipperdoling, a citizen of good birth and conſiderable eminence.

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eminence. Emboldened by the countenance of such diſciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not ſatisfied with that liberty, they made ſeveral attempts, though without ſucceſs, to become maſters of the town, in order to get their tenets eſtabliſhed by public authority. At laſt, having ſecretly called in their aſſociates from the neighbouring country, they ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the arſenal and ſenate-houſe in the night-time, and running through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptiſed," and "Depart ye ungodly." The ſenators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more ſober citizens, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confuſion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, conſiſting chiefly of ſtrangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or control them, they ſet about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at firſt they ſhowed ſo much reverence for the ancient conſtitution, as to elect ſenators of their own ſect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another proſelyte conſuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the ſtyle, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was inſtant death to diſobey. Having begun with enouraging the multitude to pillage the churches, and deface their ornaments; he enjoined them to deſtroy all books except the Bible, as uſeleſs or impious; he ordered the

Become maſters of that city.

February.

Eſtabliſh a new form of government.

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1534. the eſtates of ſuch as fled, to be confiſcated, and ſold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he commanded every man to bring forth his gold, ſilver, and other precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amaſſed by theſe means, he depoſited in a public treaſury, and named deacons to diſpenſe it for the common uſe of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even preſcribed the diſhes which were to be ſerved up each day. Having finiſhed his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took meaſures for that purpoſe with a prudence which ſavoured nothing of fanaticiſm. He collected large magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every perſon without diſtinction to work in his turn; he formed ſuch as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the ſtability of diſcipline to the impetuoſity of enthuſiaſm. He ſent emiſſaries to the Anabaptiſts in the Low-Countries, inviting them to aſſemble at Munſter, which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that from thence they might ſet out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himſelf was unwearied in attending to every thing neceſſary for the ſecurity or increaſe of the ſect; animating his diſciples by his own example to decline no labour, as well as to ſubmit to every hardſhip; and their enthuſiaſtic paſſions being kept from ſubſiding

by

by a perpetual ſucceſſion of exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they ſeemed ready to undertake or to ſuffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions. 1534.

The biſhop of Munſter takes arms againſt them.

WHILE they were thus employed, the biſhop of Munſter having aſſembled a conſiderable army, advanced to beſiege the town. On his approach, Matthias ſallied out at the head of ſome choſen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great ſlaughter returned to the city loaded with glory and ſpoil. Intoxicated with this ſucceſs, he appeared next day brandiſhing a ſpear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and ſmite the hoſt of the ungodly. Thirty perſons, whom he named, followed him without heſitation in this wild enterprize, and, ruſhing on the enemy with a frantic courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occaſioned at firſt great conſternation among his diſciples; but Boccold, by the ſame gifts and pretenſions which had gained Matthias credit, ſoon revived their ſpirits and hopes to ſuch a degree, that he ſucceeded the deceaſed prophet in the ſame abſolute direction of all their affairs. As he did not poſſeſs that enterprizing courage which diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor, he ſatisfied himſelf with carrying on a defenſive war; and, without attempting to annoy the enemy by ſallies, he waited for the ſuccours he expected from the Low-Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promiſed by their prophets.

May.

John of Leyden acquires great authority among the Anabaptiſts.

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1534.

prophets. But though leſs daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthuſiaſt, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predeceſſor, having, by obſcure viſions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for ſome extraordinary event, he ſtripped himſelf naked, and, marching through the ſtreets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was higheſt on earth ſhould be brought low, and whatever was loweſt ſhould be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the moſt lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the ſenators choſen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the conſulſhip, the higheſt office in the commonwealth, appointed him to execute the loweſt and moſt infamous, that of common hangman, to which ſtrange tranſition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmoſt joy; and ſuch was the deſpotic rigour of Boccold's adminiſtration, that he was called almoſt every day to perform ſome duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the depoſed ſenators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Iſrael, to preſide in all affairs; retaining to himſelf the ſame authority which Moſes anciently poſſeſſed as legiſlator of that people.

Elected King.

NOT ſatisfied, however, with power or titles, which were not ſupreme, a prophet, whom he had

had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold ſhould be King of Sion, and ſit on the throne of David. John kneeling down, accepted of the heavenly call, which he ſolemnly proteſted had been revealed likewiſe to himſelf, and was immediately acknowledged as Monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he aſſumed all the ſtate and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked ſword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money ſtamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his houſehold and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former ſubmiſſion.

1535. June 24.

HAVING now attained the height of power, Boccold began to diſcover paſſions, which he had hitherto reſtrained, or indulged only in ſecret. As the exceſſes of enthuſiaſm have been obſerved in every age to lead to ſenſual gratifications, the ſame conſtitution that is ſuſceptible of the former, being remarkably prone to the latter, he inſtructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for ſeveral days concerning the lawfulneſs, and even neceſſity of taking more wives than one, which they aſſerted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the ſaints.

His licentious tenets and conduct.

BOOK V.

1534.

ſaints. When their ears were once accuſtomed to this licentious doctrine, and their paſſions inflamed with the proſpect of ſuch unbounded indulgence, he himſelf ſet them an example of uſing what he called their Chriſtian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among which the widow of Matthias, a woman of ſingular beauty, was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives, until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of Queen, or who ſhared with him the ſplendour and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themſelves up to the moſt licentious and uncontrolled gratification of their deſires. No man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. Not to uſe their Chriſtian liberty was deemed a crime. Perſons were appointed to ſearch the houſes for young women grown up to maturity, whom they inſtantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inſeparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new ſource of corruption. Every exceſs was committed, of which the paſſions of men are capable, when reſtrained neither by the authority of laws nor the ſenſe of decency[m]; and by a monſtrous

[m] Prophetæ & concionatorum autoritate juxta et exemplo, totâ urbe ad rapiendas pulcherrimas quaſque fæminas diſcurſum eſt. Nec intra paucos dies, in tanta hominum turbâ fere ulla reperta eſt ſupra annum decimum quartum quæ ſtuprum paſſa non fuerit. Lamb. Hortenſ. p. 303.

Vulgò

monſtrous and almoſt incredible conjunction, voluptuouſneſs was engrafted on religion, and diſſolute riot accompanied the auſterities of fanatical devotion. 1534.

A confederacy againſt the Anabaptiſts.

Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the inſult offered to their dignity by Boccold's preſumptuous uſurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Chriſtian name, filled men of all profeſſions with horror. Luther, who had teſtified againſt this fanatical ſpirit on its firſt appearance, now deeply lamented its progreſs, and having expoſed the deluſion with great ſtrength of argument, as well as acrimony of ſtyle, called loudly on all the ſtates of Germany to put a ſtop to a phrenſy no leſs pernicious to ſociety, than fatal to religion. The Emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leiſure to attend to ſuch a diſtant object; but the princes of the Empire, aſſembled by the King of the Romans, voted a ſupply of men and money to the biſhop of Munſter, who being unable to keep a ſufficient army on foot, had converted the

Vulgò viris quinas eſſe uxores, pluribus ſenas, nonnullis ſeptenas & octonas. Puellas ſupra duodecimum ætatis annum ſtatim amare. Id. 305. Nemo unâ contentus fuit, neque cuiquam extra effætas & viris immaturas continenti eſſe licuit. Id. 307. Tacebo hîc, ut ſit ſuus honor auribus, quanta barbariê et malitiâ uſi ſunt in puellis vitiandis nondum aptis matrimonio, id quod mihi neque ex vano, neque ex vulgi ſermonibus hauſtum eſt, ſed ex eâ vetulâ, cui cura ſic vitiatarum demandata fuit, auditum. Joh. Corvinus, 316.

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1535. Beſiege the town.

ſiege of the town into a blockade. The forces raiſed in conſequence of this reſolution, were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town towards the end of ſpring, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, preſſed it more cloſely than formerly; but found the fortifications ſo ſtrong, and ſo diligently guarded, that he durſt not attempt an aſſault. It was now about fifteen months ſince the Anabaptiſts had eſtabliſhed their dominion in Munſter; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty.

May. Diſtreſs and fanaticiſm of the beſieged.

Notwithſtanding the prudent attention of their King to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and his frugal as well as regular œconomy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several ſmall bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their aſſiſtance from the Low-Countries, had been intercepted and cut to pieces; and while all Germany was ready to combine againſt them, they had no proſpect of ſuccour. But ſuch was the aſcendant which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and ſo powerful the faſcination of enthuſiaſm, that their hopes were as ſanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the viſions and predictions of their prophets, who aſſured them that the Almighty would ſpeedily interpoſe, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of ſome few, ſhaken by the violence and length of their ſufferings, began to fail; but being ſuſpected

pected of an inclination to surrender to the enemy, they were punished with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in distrusting the power of God. One of the King's wives, having uttered certain words which implied some doubt concerning his divine mission, he instantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blasphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and so far were the rest from expressing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantic joy around the bleeding body of their companion. 1535.

The city taken. June 1.

By this time, the besieged endured the utmost rigour of famine; but they chose rather to suffer hardships, the recital of which is shocking to humanity, than to listen to the terms of capitulation offered them by the bishop. At last, a deserter, whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed, and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who, scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The

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1535. June 24.

Anabaptiſts, though ſurpriſed, defended themſelves in the market-place with valour, heightened by deſpair; but being overpowered by numbers, and ſurrounded on every hand, moſt of them were ſlain, and the remainder taken priſoners. Among the laſt were the King and Cnipperdoling. The King, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a ſpectacle to gratify the curioſity of the people, and was expoſed to all their inſults. His ſpirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this ſad reverſe of his condition; and he adhered with unſhaken firmneſs to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of his ſect. After this, he was brought back to Munſter, the ſcene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the moſt exquiſite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire ſuch amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions ſo dangerous to ſociety, was only twenty-ſix years of age [n].

Puniſhment of the King and his aſſociates.

TOGETHER with its Monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptiſts came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low-Coun-

Character of the ſect ſince that period.

[n] Sleid. 190, &c. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum Liber unus. Ant. Lamberto Hortenſio auctore ap. Scardium, vol. ii. p. 298, &c. De Miſerabili Monaſterienſium Obſidione, &c. libellus Antonii Corvini ap. Scar. 313. Annales Anabaptiſtici a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Baſileæ, 1672. Cor. Heerſbachius Hiſt. Anab. edit. 1637, p. 140.

tries,

ties, the party ſtill ſubſiſts there, under the name of Mennonites; but by a very ſingular revolution, this ſect, ſo mutinous and ſanguinary at its firſt origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themſelves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their induſtry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human ſociety for the violence committed by their founders°. A ſmall number of this ſect which is ſettled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptiſm, but without any dangerous mixture of enthuſiaſm.

Proceedings and authority of the league of Smalkalde.

THE mutiny of the Anabaptiſts, though it drew general attention, did not ſo entirely engroſs the princes of Germany, as not to allow leiſure for other tranſactions. The alliance between the French King and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, on account of his violent and oppreſſive adminiſtration, the houſe of Auſtria had got poſſeſſion of his dutchy. That prince having now by a long exile atoned for the errors in his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical diſpoſition, was become the object of general compaſſion. The Landgrave of Heſſe, in parti-

° Bayle Diction. art. *Anabaptiſtes.*

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cular, his near relation, warmly eſpouſed his intereſt, and uſed many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obſtinately refuſed to relinquiſh a valuable acquiſition which his family had made with ſo much eaſe. The Landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the King of France his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of diſtreſſing the houſe of Auſtria, and deſirous of wreſting from it a territory, which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a diſtance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and ſecretly ſupplied him with a large ſum of money. This he employed to raiſe troops; and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and diſperſed a conſiderable body of Auſtrians, entruſted with the defence of the country. All the Duke's ſubjects haſtened, with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and re-inveſted him with that authority which is ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendants. At the ſame time the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed in his dominions [P].

The King of the Romans courts them.

FERDINAND, how ſenſible ſoever of this unpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince whom all the Proteſtant powers in Germany were ready to ſupport, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the moſt ample

[P] Sleid. 172. Bellay, 159, &c.

form,

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form, he recogniſed his title to the dutchy. The ſucceſs of the Landgrave's operations, in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemberg, having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league, ſo formidable as that of Smalkalde, was to be avoided with the utmoſt care, he entered likewiſe into a negociation with the Elector of Saxony, the head of that union, and by ſome conceſſions in favour of the Proteſtant religion, and others of advantage to the Elector himſelf, he prevailed on him, together with his confederates, to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans. At the ſame time, in order to prevent any ſuch precipitate or irregular election in times to come, it was agreed that no perſon ſhould hereafter be promoted to that dignity without the unanimous conſent of the Electors; and the Emperor ſoon after confirmed this ſtipulation [q].

Paul III. calls a general council to meet at Mantua.

THESE acts of indulgence towards the Proteſtants, and the cloſe union into which the King of the Romans ſeemed to be entering with the Princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III., though he had departed from a reſolution of his predeceſſor, never to conſent to the calling of a general council, and had promiſed, in the firſt conſiſtory held after his election, that he would convoke that aſſembly ſo much deſired by all Chriſtendom, was no leſs enraged than Clement at the innovations in Germany,

[q] Sleid. 173. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. p. 2. 119.

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1535. and no leſs averſe to any ſcheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuſes in the court of Rome: But having been a witneſs of the univerſal cenſure which Clement had incurred by his obſtinacy with regard to theſe points, he hoped to avoid the ſame reproach by the ſeeming alacrity with which he propoſed a council; flattering himſelf, however, that ſuch difficulties would ariſe concerning the time and place of meeting, the perſons who had a right to be preſent, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of thoſe who demanded that aſſembly, without expoſing himſelf to any imputation for refuſing to call it. With this view he diſpatched nuncios to the ſeveral courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold the council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreſeen, immediately preſented themſelves in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had choſen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would neceſſarily be too great in a town ſituated in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refuſed, beſides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the Pope. The

Dec. 12. German Proteſtants having met together at Smalkalde, inſiſted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the Emperor's promiſe, as well as the agreement at Ratiſbon to that effect, declared that they would not

not conſider an aſſembly held at Mantua as a legal or free repreſentative of the church. By this diverſity of ſentiments and views, ſuch a field for intrigue and negociation opened, as made it eaſy for the Pope to aſſume the merit of being eager to aſſemble a council, while at the ſame time he could put off its meeting at pleaſure. The Proteſtants, on the other hand, ſuſpecting his deſigns, and ſenſible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became ſtronger and more formidable by the acceſſion of ſeveral new members [r].

The Emperor's expedition to Africa, and ſtate of that country.

During theſe tranſactions in Germany, the Emperor undertook his famous enterpriſe againſt the piratical ſtates in Africa. That part of the African continent lying along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Maſſylia, together

[r] This league was concluded December, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, but not extended or ſigned in form till September in the following year. The Princes who acceded to it were, John Elector of Saxony, Erneſt Duke of Brunſwick, Philip Landgrave of Heſſe, Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, Barnim and Philip Dukes of Pomerania, John, George, and Joachim, Princes of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Counts of Mansfield, William Count of Naſſau. The cities, Straſburg, Nuremburg, Conſtance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Hailbron, Memmengen, Lindaw, Campen, Iſna, Bibrac, Windſheim, Augſburg, Francfort, Eſſling, Brunſwick, Goſlar, Hanover, Gottingen, Eimbeck, Hamburg, Minden.

with

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1535. with the republic of Carthage, and which is now known by the general name of Barbary, had undergone many revolutions. Subdued by the Romans, it became a province of their empire. When it was conquered afterwards by the Vandals, they erected a kingdom there. That being overturned by Beliſarius, the country became ſubject to the Greek Emperors, and continued to be ſo until it was over-run, towards the end of the ſeventh century, by the rapid and irreſiſtible arms of the Arabians. It remained for ſome time a part of that vaſt empire which the Caliphs governed with abſolute authority. Its immenſe diſtance, however, from the ſeat of government, encouraged the deſcendants of thoſe leaders, who had ſubdued the country, or the chiefs of the Moors, its ancient inhabitants, to throw off the yoke, and to aſſert their independence. The Caliphs, who derived their authority from a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, more fitted for making conqueſts than for preſerving them, were obliged to connive at acts of rebellion which they could not prevent; and Barbary was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the moſt conſiderable. The inhabitants of theſe kingdoms were a mixed race, Arabs, Negroes from the ſouthern provinces, and Moors, either natives of Africa, or who had been expelled out of Spain; all zealous profeſſors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed againſt Chriſtianity with a bigoted hatred proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners.

5 AMONG

AMONG theſe people, no leſs daring, inconſtant, and treacherous, than the ancient inhabitants of the ſame country deſcribed by the Roman hiſtorians, frequent ſeditions broke out, and many changes in government took place. Theſe, as they affected only the internal ſtate of a country extremely barbarous, are but little known, and deſerve to be ſo: But about the beginning of the ſixteenth century a ſudden revolution happened, which, by rendering the ſtates of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, hath made their hiſtory worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by perſons born in a rank of life which entitled them to act no ſuch illuſtrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the ſons of a potter in the Iſle of Leſbos, prompted by a reſtleſs and enterprizing ſpirit, forſook their father's trade, ran to ſea, and joined a crew of pirates. They ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour and activity, and becoming maſters of a ſmall brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with ſuch conduct and ſucceſs, that they aſſembled a fleet of twelve galleys, beſides many veſſels of ſmaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbaroſſa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin ſecond in command, but with almoſt equal authority. They called themſelves the friends of the ſea, and the enemies of all who ſail upon it; and their names ſoon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanels to thoſe of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views extended, and while acting

1535. Riſe of the piratical ſtates, and of the Barbaroſſas.

as

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as Corſairs, they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the
1535. prizes which they took on the coaſts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and enriching the inhabitants by the ſale of their booty, and the thoughtleſs prodigality of their crews, were welcome gueſts in every place at which they touched. The convenient ſituation of theſe harbours, lying ſo near the greateſt commercial ſtates at that time in Chriſtendom, made the brothers wiſh for an eſtabliſhment in that country. An opportunity of accompliſhing this quickly preſented itſelf, which they did not ſuffer to paſs unimproved. Eutemi, King of Algiers, having attempted ſeveral times, without ſucceſs, to take a fort which the Spaniſh governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was ſo ill adviſed as to apply for aid to Barbaroſſa, whoſe valour the Africans conſidered as
1516. irreſiſtible. The active Corſair gladly accepted of the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thouſand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and as he perceived that the Moors neither ſuſpected him of any bad intentions, nor were capable with their light-armed troops of oppoſing his diciplined veterans, he ſecretly murdered the Monarch whom he had come to aſſiſt, and proclaimed himſelf King of Algiers in his ſtead. The authority which he had thus boldly uſurped, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh by arts ſuited to the

Horuc, the elder brother, becomes maſter of Algiers.

genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to thoſe who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no leſs unbounded towards all whom he had any reaſon to diſtruſt. Not ſatisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring King of Tremecen, and having vanquiſhed him in battle, added his dominions to thoſe of Algiers. At the ſame time, he continued to infeſt the coaſt of Spain and Italy with fleets which reſembled the armaments of a great monarch, rather than the light ſquadrons of a Corſair. Their frequent and cruel devaſtations obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furniſh the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops ſufficient to attack him. That officer, aſſiſted by the dethroned King of Tremecen, executed the commiſſion with ſuch ſpirit, that Barbaroſſa's troops being beat in ſeveral encounters, he himſelf was ſhut up in Tremecen. After defending it to the laſt extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his eſcape, and ſlain while he fought with an obſtinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

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The progreſs of Hayradin, the ſecond brother.

His brother Hayradin, known likewiſe by the name of Barbaroſſa, aſſumed the ſceptre of Algiers with the ſame ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undiſturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his

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his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conqueſts on the continent of Africa. But perceiving that the Moors and Arabs ſubmitted to his government with the utmoſt reluctance, and being afraid that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Chriſtians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkiſh ſoldiers ſufficient for his ſecurity againſt his domeſtic as well as his foreign enemies. At laſt, the fame of his exploits daily increaſing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkiſh fleet, as the only perſon whoſe valour and ſkill in naval affairs entitled him to command againſt Andrew Doria, the greateſt ſea-officer of that age. Proud of this diſtinction, Barbaroſſa repaired to Conſtantinople, and with a wonderful verſatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldneſs of a Corſair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a ſcheme which he had formed of making himſelf maſter of Tunis, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom, at that time, on the coaſt of Africa; and this being approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

Puts his dominions under the protection of the Sultan.

His ſcheme for conquering Tunis.

His hopes of ſucceſs in this undertaking were founded on the inteſtine diviſions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the laſt King of that country, having thirty-four ſons by different wives, appointed

appointed Muley-Haſcen, one of the youngeſt among them, to be his ſucceſſor. That weak Prince, who owed this preference, not to his own merit, but to the aſcendant which his mother had acquired over a monarch doating with age, firſt poiſoned Mahmed his father in order to prevent him from altering his deſtination with reſpect to the ſucceſſion; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of ſucceſſion is not preciſely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraſchid, one of the eldeſt, was ſo fortunate as to eſcape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made ſeveral attempts, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But theſe proving unſucceſsful, and the Arabs, from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his mercileſs brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbaroſſa, who, diſcerning at once all the advantages which might be gained by ſupporting his title, received him with every poſſible demonſtration of friendſhip and reſpect. Being ready, at that time, to ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, he eaſily perſuaded Alraſchid, whoſe eagerneſs to obtain a crown diſpoſed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither, promiſing him effectual aſſiſtance from Solyman, whom he repreſented to be the moſt generous, as well as moſt powerful Monarch in the world. But no ſooner were they arrived at Conſtantinople, than the

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1535. the treacherous Corſair, regardleſs of all his promiſes to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkiſh empire, by making uſe of the name of this exiled Prince, and co-operating with the party in the kingdom which was ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved, with too much facility, of this perfidious propoſal, extremely ſuitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great Prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were ſoon aſſembled; at the ſight of which the credulous Alraſchid flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſoon enter his capital in triumph.

Its ſucceſs. But juſt as this unhappy Prince was going to embark, he was arreſted by order of the Sultan, ſhut up in the ſeraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty veſſels towards Africa. After ravaging the coaſts of Italy, and ſpreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to aſſert the right of Alraſchid, whom he pretended to have left ſick aboard the admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, ſoon fell into his hands, partly by his own addreſs, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Haſcen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraſchid with ſuch zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly ſo precipitately, that he left all his treaſures behind him. The gates,

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gates were immediately ſet open to Barbaroſſa, as the reſtorer of their lawful ſovereign. But when Alraſchid himſelf did not appear, and when inſtead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkiſh ſoldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to ſuſpect the Corſair's treachery. Their ſuſpicions being ſoon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and ſurrounded the citadel, into which Barbaroſſa had led his troops. But having foreſeen ſuch a revolution, he was not unprepared for it: he immediately turned againſt them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one briſk diſcharge, diſperſed the numerous but undirected aſſailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their ſovereign, and to ſubmit to himſelf as his viceroy.

Barbaroſſa's formidable power.

His firſt care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got poſſeſſion, in a proper poſture of defence. He ſtrengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vaſt expence, made it the principal ſtation for his fleet, and his great arſenal for military as well as naval ſtores. Being now poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive territories, he carried on his depredations againſt the Chriſtian States to a greater extent, and with more deſtructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers were brought to the Emperor by his ſubjects, both in

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Spain and Italy. All Chriſtendom ſeemed to expect from him, as its greateſt and moſt fortunate Prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious ſpecies of oppreſſion. At the ſame time Muley-Haſcen, the exiled King of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan Princes in Africa willing or able to aſſiſt him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only perſon who could aſſert his rights in oppoſition to ſuch a formidable uſurper. The Emperor, equally deſirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbaroſſa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate Prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition againſt the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become ſo fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occaſion in perſon. The united ſtrength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemiſh fleet carried from the ports of the Low-Country a body of German infantry[s]; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo many victories over the French; the Emperor

The exiled King of Tunis implores the Emperor's aſſiſtance. April 21, 1535.

His preparation for the expedition.

[s] Heræi Annales Brabant. i. 599.

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himſelf embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spaniſh nobility, and was joined by a conſiderable ſquadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empreſs's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the beſt appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the moſt ſkilful officers; the Pope furniſhed all the aſſiſtance in his power towards ſuch a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the Infidels, equipped a ſquadron, which, though ſmall, was formidable by the valour of the knights who ſerved on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed High-Admiral of the fleet; the command of the land-forces under the Emperor was given to the marquis de Guaſto. 1535.

Lands in Africa.

On the ſixteenth of July, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari, and after a proſperous navigation landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa having received early intelligence of the Emperor's immenſe armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his corſairs from their different ſtations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African Princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley-Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition

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1535. and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian Prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahommedan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant and bigoted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe, together with a great body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis; and by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, Barbaroſſa kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppoſe, to think that theſe light troops could reſiſt the heavy-armed cavalry and veteran infantry which compoſed the Imperial army, his chief confidence was in the ſtrength of the Goletta, and in his body of Turkiſh ſoldiers, who were armed and diſciplined after the European faſhion. Six thouſand of theſe, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the braveſt and moſt experienced of all his corſairs, he threw into that fort, which the Emperor immediately inveſted. As Charles had the command of the ſea, his camp was ſo plentifully ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley Haſcen, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee war carried on with ſuch order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his preſence, and conſidering it as meritorious to ſhed their blood in ſuch a pious cauſe, contended with each other for the poſts of honour and danger. Three ſeparate attacks were concerted, and the

Lays ſiege to Goletta.

Germans,

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Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, having one of theſe committed to each of them, puſhed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inſpires. Sinan diſplayed reſolution and ſkill becoming the confidence which his maſter had put in him; the garriſon performed the hard ſervice on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incurſions; the breaches ſoon became ſo conſiderable towards the land, while the fleet battered thoſe parts of the fortifications which it could approach with no leſs fury and ſucceſs, that an aſſault being given on all ſides at once, the place was taken by ſtorm. Sinan, with the remains of his garriſon, retired, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, over a ſhallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became maſter of Barbaroſſa's fleet, conſiſting of eighty-ſeven gallies and galliots, together with his arſenal, and three hundred cannon, moſtly braſs, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the ſtrength of the fort, as well as of the greatneſs of the corſair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach, and turning to Muley-Haſcen who attended him, "Here," ſays he, "is a gate open to you, by which you ſhall return to take poſſeſſion of your dominions."

Takes it by ſtorm, July 25.

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BARBAROSSA, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, loſe courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thouſand men[t], towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the iſſue of a battle. This reſolution he communicated to his principal officers, and repreſenting to them the fatal conſequences which might follow, if ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, whom he had ſhut up in the citadel, ſhould attempt to mutiny during the abſence of the army, he propoſed, as a neceſſary precaution for the public ſecurity, to maſſacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty, the barbarity of his propoſal concerning the ſlaves filled them with horror; and Barbaroſſa, rather from the dread of irritating them, than ſwayed by motives of humanity, conſented to ſpare the lives of the ſlaves.

Defeats Barbaroſſa's army.

BY this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops ſuf-

[t] Epiſtres des Princes, par Ruſcelli, p. 119, &c.

fered

fered inconceivable hardſhips in their march, over burning ſands, deſtitute of water, and expoſed to the intolerable heat of the ſun, they ſoon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vaſt ſuperiority in number, immediately ruſhed on to the attack with loud ſhouts, but their undiſciplined courage could not long ſtand the ſhock of regular battalions; and though Barbaroſſa, with admirable preſence of mind, and by expoſing his own perſon to the greateſt dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became ſo general, that he himſelf was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; ſome of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others, ready to ſet open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in ſuch circumſtances might have afforded him ſome refuge, already in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe unhappy men, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbaroſſa dreaded. As ſoon as his army was at ſome diſtance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whoſe aſſiſtance, knocking off their fetters, and burſting open their priſons, they overpowered the Turkiſh garriſon, and turned the artillery of the fort againſt their former maſters. Barbaroſſa, diſappointed and enraged, exclaiming ſometimes againſt the falſe compaſſion of his officers, and ſometimes condemning his own im-

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prudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

Tunis surrenders.

MEANWHILE Charles, satisfied with the easy and almost bloodless victory which he had gained, and advancing slowly with the precaution necessary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at last, a messenger dispatched by the slaves acquainted him with the success of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the same time deputies arrived from the town, in order to present him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper measures for this purpose, the soldiers, fearing that they should be deprived of the booty which they had expected, rushed suddenly, and without orders, into the town, and began to kill and plunder without distinction. It was then too late to restrain their cruelty, their avarice, or licentiousness. All the outrages of which soldiers are capable in the fury of a storm, all the excesses of which men can be guilty when their passions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inspire, were committed. Above thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished on that unhappy day, and ten thousand were carried away as slaves. Muley-Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects on whom he had brought such calamities, and pitied

pitied even by thoſe whoſe raſhneſs had been the occaſion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had ſtained the luſtre of this victory; and amidſt ſuch a ſcene of horror there was but one ſpectacle that afforded him any ſatisfaction. Ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and bleſſed him as their deliverer. 1535.

Restores the exiled King to his throne.

At the ſame time that Charles accompliſhed his promiſe to the Mooriſh King, of re-eſtabliſhing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was neceſſary for bridling the power of the African corſairs, for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and for the intereſt of the Spaniſh crown: In order to gain theſe ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen on the following conditions: that he ſhould hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Chriſtian ſlaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that no ſubject of the Emperor's ſhould for the future be detained in ſervitude; that no Turkiſh corſair ſhould be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the public exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould be allowed to all the Emperor's ſubjects; that the Emperor ſhould not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other ſea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified ſhould be put into his hands; that Muley-Haſcen ſhould pay annually

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August 17. infeſted by piratical depredations; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempeſtuous weather, and ſickneſs among his troops, not permitting him to purſue Barbaroſſa [x].

The glory which the Emperor acquired.

By this expedition, the merit of which ſeems to have been eſtimated in that age, rather by the apparent generoſity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the ſucceſs which crowned it, than by the importance of the conſequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory, than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thouſand ſlaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by

[u] Du Mont Corps Diplomat. ii. 128. Summonte Hiſt. di Napoli, iv. 89.

[x] Joh. Etropii Diarium Expedition. Tunetanæ, ap. Scard. v. ii. p. 320, &c. Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxiv. 153, &c. Sandov. ii. 154, &c. Vertot Hiſt. de Cheval de Malthe. Epiſtres des Princes, par Ruſcelli, traduites par Belleforeſt, p. 119, 120, &c. Anton. Pontii Conſentini Hiſt. Belli adv. Barbar. ap. Matthæi Analecta.

his

his treaty with Muley-Haſcen[y], each of whom he clothed and furniſhed with the means of returning to their reſpective countries, ſpread over all Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In compariſon with him, the other monarchs of Europe made an inconſiderable figure. They ſeemed to be ſolicitous about nothing but their private and particular intereſts; while Charles, with an elevation of ſentiment which became the firſt Prince in Chriſtendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Chriſtian name, and attentive to the public ſecurity and welfare. 1535.

[y] Summonte Hiſt. de Nap. vol. iv. p. 103.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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1535. The cauſes of a new war between the Emperor and Francis.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his contemporaries, his conduct, at this juncture, appeared a perfect contraſt to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him, by the Emperor's having turned his whole force againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendom, to revive his pretenſions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. The treaty of Cambray, as has been obſerved, did not remove the cauſes of enmity between the two contending Princes; it covered up, but did not extinguiſh the flames of diſcord. Francis in particular, who waited with impatience for a proper occaſion of recovering the reputation as well as the territories which he had loſt, continued to carry on his negociations in different

ferent courts againſt the Emperor, taking the utmoſt pains to heighten the jealouſy which many Princes entertained of his power or deſigns, and to inſpire the reſt with the ſame ſuſpicion and fear: among others, he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted to Charles for the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Milan, had received it on ſuch hard conditions, as rendered him not only a vaſſal of the Empire, but a tributary dependant upon the Emperor. The honour of having married the Emperor's niece, did not reconcile him to this ignominious ſtate of ſubjection, which became ſo intolerable even to Sforza, though a weak and poor-ſpirited Prince, that he liſtened with eagerneſs to the firſt propoſals Francis made of reſcuing him from the yoke. Theſe propoſals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French hiſtorians, a Milaneſe gentleman reſiding at Paris; and ſoon after, in order to carry on the negociation with greater advantage, Merveille was ſent to Milan, on pretence of viſiting his relations, but with ſecret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithſtanding his care to keep that circumſtance concealed, Charles ſuſpecting, or having received information of it, remonſtrated and threatened in ſuch an high tone, that the Duke and his miniſters, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a moſt infamous proof of their ſervile fear of offending the Emperor. As Merveille had neither the prudence nor the temper which the function wherein he was employed required, they artfully

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fully decoyed him into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his antagoniſt, one of the Duke's domeſtics, and having inſtantly ſeized him, they ordered him to be tried for that crime, and to be beheaded. Francis, no leſs aſtoniſhed at this violation of a character held ſacred among the moſt uncivilized nations, than enraged at the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the Emperor, whom he conſidered as the real author of that unexampled outrage. But receiving no ſatisfaction from either, he appealed to all the Princes of Europe, and thought himſelf now entitled to take vengeance for an injury, which it would have been indecent and puſillanimous to let paſs with impunity.

Francis deſtitute of allies.

BEING thus furniſhed with a pretext for beginning a war, on which he had already reſolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other Princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his meaſures for this purpoſe were diſconcerted by unforeſeen events. After having ſacrificed the honour of the royal family of France by the marriage of his ſon with Catharine of Medici, in order to gain Clement, the death of that Pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendſhip. Paul, his ſucceſſor, though attached by inclination to the Imperial intereſt, ſeemed determined to maintain the neutrality ſuitable to his character as the common father of the contending Princes. The King of England,

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occupied with domeſtic cares and projects, declined, for once, engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refuſed to aſſiſt Francis, unleſs he would imitate his example, in throwing off the Papal ſupremacy. Theſe diſappointments led him to ſolicit, with greater earneſtneſs, the aid of the Proteſtant Princes aſſociated by the league of Smalkalde. That he might the more eaſily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himſelf to their predominant paſſion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard to the points in diſpute; he permitted Bellay, his envoy in Germany, to explain his ſentiments concerning ſome of the moſt important articles, in terms not far different from thoſe uſed by the Proteſtants [a]; he even condeſcended to invite Melancthon, whoſe gentle manners and pacific ſpirit diſtinguiſhed him among the Reformers, to viſit Paris, that by his aſſiſtance he might concert the moſt proper meaſures for reconciling the contending ſects which ſo unhappily divided the church [b]. Theſe conceſſions muſt be conſidered rather as arts of policy, than the reſult of conviction; for whatever impreſſion the new opinions in religion had made on his ſiſters, the Queen of Navarre and Dutcheſs of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleaſure, allowed

His negociations with the German Proteſtants.

[a] Freheri Script. Rer. German. iii. 354, &c. Sleid. Hiſt. 178. 183. Seckend. lib. iii. 103.

[b] Camerarii Vita Ph. Melancthonis, 12°. Hag. 1655. p. 12.

him

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him little leiſure to examine theological controverſies.

Irritates them.

But ſoon after he loſt all the fruits of this diſingenuous artifice, by a ſtep very inconſiſtent with his declarations to the German Princes. This ſtep, however, the prejudices of the age, and the religious ſentiments of his own ſubjects, rendered it neceſſary for him to take. His cloſe union with the King of England, an excommunicated heretic; his frequent negociations with the German Proteſtants; but above all, his giving public audience to an envoy from Sultan Solyman, had excited violent ſuſpicions concerning the ſincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the Emperor, who, on all occaſions, made high pretenſions to zeal in defence of the Catholic faith, and at the very juncture when he was preparing for his expedition againſt Barbaroſſa, which was then conſidered as a pious enterpriſe, could not have failed to confirm ſuch unfavourable ſentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himſelf by ſome extraordinary demonſtration of his reverence for the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church. The indiſcreet zeal of ſome of his ſubjects, who had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions, furniſhed him with ſuch an occaſion as he deſired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popiſh church. Six of the perſons concerned in this raſh act were diſcovered

vered and seized. The King, in order to avert the judgments which it was supposed their blasphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a solemn procession. The holy sacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the presence of this numerous assembly, the King, accustomed to express himself on every subject in strong and animated language, declared, that if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not spare even his own children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earnest, the six unhappy persons were publicly burnt before the procession was finished, with circumstances of the most shocking barbarity attending their execution [c].

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They refuse to join him.

The Princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protect in Germany those very tenets, which he persecuted with such rigour in his own dominions; so that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his master, or apologising for his conduct, made but little impression upon them. They considered

[c] Belcarii Comment. Rer. Gallic. 646. Sleid. Hist. 175. &c.

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likewiſe, that the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence againſt the doctrines of the Reformers, nor even given them much moleſtation in their progreſs, was now bound by the agreement at Ratiſbon, not to diſturb ſuch as had embraced the new opinions; and the Proteſtants wiſely regarded this as a more certain and immediate ſecurity, than the precarious and diſtant hopes with which Francis endeavoured to allure them. Beſides, the manner in which he had behaved to his allies at the peace of Cambray, was too recent to be forgotten, and did not encourage others to rely much on his friendſhip or generoſity. Upon all theſe accounts, the Proteſtant Princes refuſed to aſſiſt the French King in any hoſtile attempt againſt the Emperor. The Elector of Saxony, the moſt zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to viſit the court of France, although that Reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of ſo great a Monarch, or hoping that his preſence there might be of ſignal advantage to the Proteſtant cauſe, diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to undertake the journey [d].

The French army advances towards Italy.

But though none of the many Princes who envied or dreaded the power of Charles, would ſecond Francis's efforts in order to reduce and

[d] Camerarii Vita Melan. 142, &c. 415. Seckend. lib. iii. 107.

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circumscribe it, he, nevertheless, commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy. As his sole pretext for taking arms was that he might chastise the Duke of Milan for his insolent and cruel breach of the law of nations, it might have been expected that the whole weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on his territories. But on a sudden, and at their very commencement, the operations of war took another direction. Charles Duke of Savoy, one of the least active and able Princes of the line from which he descended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the sister of the Empress. By her great talents, she soon acquired an absolute ascendant over her husband; and proud of her affinity to the Emperor, or allured by the magnificent promises with which he flattered her ambition, she formed an union between the Duke and the Imperial court, extremely inconsistent with that neutrality, which wise policy as well as the situation of his dominions had hitherto induced him to observe in all the quarrels between the contending Monarchs. Francis was abundantly sensible of the distress to which he might be exposed, if, when he entered Italy, he should leave behind him the territories of a Prince, devoted so obsequiously to the Emperor, that he had sent his eldest son to be educated in the court of Spain, as a kind of hostage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had represented this danger in a strong light during his interview with Francis at Marseilles, suggested to him, at the same time, the proper method of guarding against it,

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Takes poſſeſſion of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

it, having adviſed him to begin his operations againſt the Milaneſe, by taking poſſeſſion of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of ſecuring a communication with his own dominions. Francis, highly irritated at the Duke on many accounts, particularly for having ſupplied the Conſtable Bourbon with the money that enabled him to levy the body of troops which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he reſented, and how ſeverely he could puniſh theſe injuries. Nor did he want ſeveral pretexts which gave ſome colour of equity to the violence that he intended. The territories of France and Savoy lying contiguous to each other, and intermingled in many places, various diſputes, unavoidable in ſuch a ſituation, ſubſiſted between the two ſovereigns concerning the limits of their reſpective property; and beſides, Francis, in right of his mother Louiſe of Savoy, had large claims upon the Duke her brother, for her ſhare in their father's ſucceſſion. Being unwilling, however, to begin hoſtilities without ſome cauſe of quarrel more ſpecious than theſe pretenſions, many of which were obſolete, and others dubious, he demanded permiſſion to march through Piedmont in his way to the Milaneſe, hoping that the Duke, from an exceſs of attachment to the Imperial intereſt, might refuſe this requeſt, and thus give a greater appearance of juſtice to all his operations againſt him. But, if we may believe the hiſtorians of Savoy, who appear to be better informed with regard to this particular than thoſe

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of France, the Duke readily, and with a good grace, granted what it was not in his power to deny, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops as was deſired; ſo that Francis, as the only method now left of juſtifying the meaſures which he determined to take, was obliged to inſiſt for full ſatisfaction with regard to every thing that either the crown of France or his mother Louiſe could demand of the houſe of Savoy [e]. Such an evaſive anſwer, as might have been expected, being made to this requiſition, the French army under the admiral Biron poured at once into the Duke's territories at different places. The countries of Breſſe and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were over-run in a moment. Moſt of the towns in the dutchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make reſiſtance were eaſily taken; and before the end of the campaign, the Duke ſaw himſelf ſtripped of all his dominions, but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended.

The city of Geneva recovers its liberty.

To complete the Duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the ſovereignty of which he claimed, and in ſome degree poſſeſſed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loſs of the adjacent territories. Geneva was, at that time, an

[e] Hiſtoire Genealogique de Savoye, par Guichenon, 2 tom. fol. Lyon. 1660. i. 639, &c.

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Imperial city, and though under the direct dominion of its own biſhops, and the remote ſovereignty of the Dukes of Savoy, the form of its internal conſtitution was purely republican, being governed by ſyndics and a council choſen by the citizens. From theſe diſtinct and often claſhing juriſdictions, two oppoſite parties took their riſe, and had long ſubſiſted in the ſtate; the one, compoſed of the advocates for the privileges of the community, aſſumed the name of *Eignotz*, or confederates in defence of liberty; and branded the other, which ſupported the epiſcopal or ducal prerogatives, with the name of *Mammelukes*, or ſlaves. At length, the Proteſtant opinions beginning to ſpread among the citizens, inſpired ſuch as embraced them with that bold enterpriſing ſpirit which always accompanied or was naturally produced by them in their firſt operations. As both the Duke and Biſhop were from intereſt, from prejudice, and from political conſiderations, violent enemies of the Reformation, all the new converts joined with warmth the party of the Eignotz; and zeal for religion, mingling with the love of liberty, added ſtrength to that generous paſſion. The rage and animoſity of two factions, ſhut up within the ſame walls, occaſioned frequent inſurrections, which terminating moſtly to the advantage of the friends of liberty, they daily became more powerful.

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The Duke and Biſhop, forgetting their ancient conteſts about juriſdiction, had united againſt their common

common enemies, and each attacked them with his proper weapons. The Biſhop excommunicated the people of Geneva as guilty of a double crime; of impiety, in apoſtatiſing from the eſtabliſhed religion; and of ſacrilege, in invading the rights of his ſee. The Duke attacked them as rebels againſt their lawful Prince, and attempted to render himſelf maſter of the city, firſt by ſurpriſe, and then by open force. The citizens, deſpiſing the thunder of the Biſhop's cenſures, boldly aſſerted their independence againſt the Duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful aſſiſtance which they received from the canton of Berne, together with ſome ſmall ſupplies both of men and money, ſecretly furniſhed by the King of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not ſatisfied with having repulſed him, or with remaining always upon the defenſive themſelves, they now took advantage of the Duke's inability to reſiſt them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and ſeized ſeveral caſtles and places of ſtrength which he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from thoſe odious monuments of its former ſubjection, and rendering the public liberty more ſecure for the future. At the ſame time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Pays de Vaud, to which it had ſome pretenſions. The canton of Friburgh, though zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, and having no ſubject of conteſt with the Duke, laid hold on part of the ſpoils of that unfortunate Prince. A great

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portion of theſe conqueſts or uſurpations being ſtill retained by the two cantons, add conſiderably to their power, and have become the moſt valuable part of their territories. Geneva, notwithſtanding many ſchemes and enterprizes of the Dukes of Savoy to re-eſtabliſh their dominion over it, ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of its independence; and in conſequence of that bleſſing, has attained a degree of conſideration, wealth, and elegance, which it could not otherwiſe have reached [f].

The Emperor unable to aſſiſt the Duke of Savoy.

AMIDST ſuch a ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events, the Duke of Savoy had no other reſource but the Emperor's protection, which, upon his return from Tunis, he demanded with the moſt earneſt importunity; and as his misfortunes were occaſioned chiefly by his attachment to the Imperial intereſt, he had a juſt title to immediate aſſiſtance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to ſupport him with that vigour and diſpatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Moſt of the troops employed in the African expedition, having been raiſed for that ſervice alone, were diſbanded as ſoon as it was finiſhed; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were hardly ſufficient for the defence of the Milaneſe; and the

[f] Hiſt. de la Ville de Geneve, par Spon, 12°, Utr. 1685, p. 99. Hiſt. de la Reformation de Suiſſe, par Rouchat. Gen. 1728, tom. iv. p. 294, &c. tom. v. p. 216, &c. Mem. de Bellay, 181.

Emperor's

Emperor's treaſury was entirely drained by his extraordinary efforts againſt the Infidels.

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Oct. 24. Death of Sforza Duke of Milan.

But the death of Francis Sforza, occaſioned, according to ſome hiſtorians, by the terror of a French invaſion, which had twice been fatal to his family, afforded the Emperor full leiſure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event, the nature of the war, and the cauſes of diſcord, were totally changed. Francis's firſt pretext for taking arms, in order to chaſtiſe Sforza for the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off; but as that Prince died without iſſue, all Francis's rights to the dutchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his poſterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milaneſe was the favourite object of that Monarch, he inſtantly renewed his claim to it; and if he had ſupported his pretenſions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance without loſing a moment towards Milan, he could hardly have failed to ſecure the important point of poſſeſſion. But Francis, who became leſs enterpriſing as he advanced in years, and who was overawed at ſome times into an exceſs of caution by the remembrance of his paſt misfortunes, endeavoured to eſtabliſh his rights by negociation, not by arms; and from a timid moderation, fatal in all great affairs, neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf. Charles was more deciſive in his operations, and in quality of ſovereign, took poſſeſſion

Francis's pretenſions to that dutchy.

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poſſeſſion of the dutchy, as a vacant fief of the Empire. While Francis endeavoured to explain and aſſert his title to it, by arguments and memorials, or employed various arts in order to reconcile the Italian powers to the thoughts of his regaining footing in Italy, his rival was ſilently taking effectual ſteps to prevent it. The Emperor, however, was very careful not to diſcover too early an intention of this kind; but ſeeming to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he appeared ſolicitous only about giving him poſſeſſion in ſuch a manner as might not diſturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, which the politicians of that country were ſo deſirous of preſerving. By this artifice he deceived Francis, and gained ſo much confidence with the reſt of Europe, that, almoſt without incurring any ſuſpicion, he involved the affair in new difficulties, and protracted the negociation at pleaſure. Sometimes he propoſed to grant the inveſtiture of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon, ſometimes to the Duke of Angouleme, his third ſon; as the views and inclinations of the French court varied, he transferred his choice alternately from the one to the other, with ſuch profound and well-conducted diſſimulation, that neither Francis nor his miniſters ſeem to have penetrated his real intention; and all military operations were entirely ſuſpended, as if nothing had remained but to enter quietly into poſſeſſion of what they demanded.

1536. Charles's preparations for war.

DURING the interval of leiſure gained in this manner, Charles, on his return from Tunis, aſſembled the ſtates both of Sicily and Naples, and as they thought themſelves greatly honoured by the preſence of their ſovereign, and were no leſs pleaſed with the apparent diſintereſtedneſs of his expedition into Africa, than dazzled by the ſucceſs which had attended his arms, he prevailed on them to vote him ſuch liberal ſubſidies as were ſeldom granted in that age. This enabled him to recruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Germans, and to take every other proper precaution for executing or ſupporting the meaſures on which he had determined. Bellay, the French envoy in Germany, having diſcovered the intention of raiſing troops in that country, notwithſtanding all the pretexts employed in order to conceal it, firſt alarmed his maſter, with this evident proof of the Emperor's inſincerity [z]. But Francis was ſo poſſeſſed at that time with the rage of negociation, in all the artifices and refinements of which his rival far ſurpaſſed him, that inſtead of beginning his military operations, and puſhing them with vigour, or ſeizing the Milaneſe before the Imperial army was aſſembled, he ſatisfied himſelf with making new offers to the Emperor, in order to procure the inveſtiture by his voluntary deed. His offers were, indeed, ſo liberal and advantageous, that if ever Charles had intended to grant his demand, he could not have rejected them with decency. He dexterouſly

[z] Mem. de Bellay, 192.

eluded

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eluded them by declaring that until he conſulted the Pope in perſon, he could not take his final reſolution with regard to a point which ſo nearly concerned the peace of Italy. By this evaſion he gained ſome farther time for ripening the ſchemes which he had in view.

The Emperor enters Rome. April 6.

THE Emperor at laſt advanced towards Rome, and made his public entry into that city with extraordinary pomp; but it being found neceſſary to remove the ruins of an ancient temple of Peace, in order to widen one of the ſtreets, through which the cavalcade had to paſs, all the hiſtorians take notice of this trivial circumſtance, and they are fond to interpret it as an omen of the bloody war that followed. Charles, it is certain, had by this time baniſhed all thoughts of peace; and at laſt threw off the maſk, with which he had ſo long covered his deſigns from the court of France, by a declaration of his ſentiments no leſs ſingular than explicit. The French ambaſſadors having in their maſter's name demanded a definitive reply to his propoſitions concerning the inveſtiture of Milan, Charles promiſed to give it next day in preſence of the Pope and Cardinals aſſembled in full conſiſtory. Theſe being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambaſſadors invited to attend, the Emperor ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Pope, expatiated for ſome time on the ſincerity of his own wiſhes for the peace of Chriſtendom, as well as his abhorrence of war, the miſeries of which he enumerated at great

His public invective againſt Francis.

great length, with ſtudied and elaborate oratory; he complained that all his endeavours to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the reſtleſs and unjuſt ambition of the French King; that even during his minority he had proofs of the unfriendly and hoſtile intentions of that Monarch; that, afterwards, he had openly attempted to wreſt from him the Imperial crown which belonged to him by a title no leſs juſt than natural; that he had next invaded his kingdom of Navarre; that not ſatisfied with this, he had attacked his territories as well as thoſe of his allies both in Italy and the Low-Countries; that when the valour of the Imperial troops, rendered irreſiſtible by the protection of the Almighty, had checked his progreſs, ruined his armies, and ſeized his perſon, he continued to purſue by deceit what he had undertaken with injuſtice; that he had violated every article in the treaty of Madrid to which he owed his liberty, and as ſoon as he returned to his dominions took meaſures for rekindling the war which that pacification had happily extinguiſhed; that when new misfortunes compelled him to ſue again for peace at Cambray, he concluded and obſerved it with equal inſincerity; that ſoon after he had formed dangerous connexions with the heretical Princes in Germany, and incited them to diſturb the tranquillity of the Empire; that now he had driven the Duke of Savoy, a Prince married to a ſiſter of the Empreſs, and joined in cloſe alliance with Spain, out of the greater part of his territories; that after injuries ſo often repeated,

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repeated, and amidſt ſo many ſources of diſcord, all hope of amity or concord became deſperate; and though he himſelf was ſtill willing to grant the inveſtiture of Milan to one of the Princes of France, there was little probability of that event taking place, as Francis, on the one hand, would not conſent to what was neceſſary for ſecuring the tranquillity of Europe; nor on the other, could he think it reaſonable or ſafe to give a rival the unconditional poſſeſſion of all that he demanded. "Let us not, however, added he, continue wantonly to ſhed the blood of our innocent ſubjects; let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what arms he pleaſes to chuſe, in our ſhirts, on an iſland, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the dutchy of Burgundy be put in depoſit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; theſe ſhall be the prize of the conqueror; and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain, and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate hereſy out of Chriſtendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, renders war inevitable, nothing ſhall divert me from proſecuting it to ſuch extremity, as ſhall reduce one of us to be the pooreſt gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune ſhall fall; I enter upon action with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; the juſtice of my cauſe, the union of my ſubjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to enſure it. Of all theſe advantages,

Challenges him to ſingle combat.

the King of France is deſtitute; and were my reſources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would inſtantly throw myſelf at his feet, and with folded hands, and a rope about my neck, implore his mercy [h]."

THIS long harangue the Emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greateſt vehemence of expreſſion and geſture. The French ambaſſadors, who did not fully comprehend his meaning, as he ſpake in the Spaniſh tongue, were totally diſconcerted, and at a loſs how they ſhould anſwer ſuch an unexpected invective; when one of them began to vindicate his maſter's conduct, Charles interpoſed abruptly, and would not permit him to proceed. The Pope, without entering into any particular detail, ſatisfied himſelf with a ſhort but pathetic recommendation of peace, together with an offer of employing his ſincere endeavours in order to procure that bleſſing to Chriſtendom; and the aſſembly broke up in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary ſcene which had been exhibited. In no part of his conduct, indeed, did Charles ever deviate ſo widely from his general character. Inſtead of that prudent recollection, that compoſed and regular deportment ſo ſtrictly attentive to decorum, and ſo admirably adapted to conceal his own paſſions, for which he was at all other times conſpicuous, he appears on this occaſion before one of the

The motives of this raſh meaſure.

[h] Bellay, 199. Sandov. Hiſtor. del' Emper. ii. 226.

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moſt auguſt aſſemblies in Europe, boaſting of his own power and exploits with inſolence; inveighing againſt his enemy with indecency; and challenging him to combat with an oſtentatious valour, more becoming a champion in romance, than the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom. But the well-known and powerful operation of continued proſperity, as well as of exaggerated praiſe, even upon the firmeſt minds, ſufficiently account for this ſeeming inconſiſtency. After having compelled Solyman to retreat, and having ſtripped Barbaroſſa of a kingdom, Charles began to conſider his arms as invincible. He had been entertained, ever ſince his return from Africa, with repeated ſcenes of triumphs and public rejoicings; the orators and poets of Italy, the moſt elegant at that time in Europe, had exhauſted their genius in panegyric on his conduct and merit, to which the aſtrologers added magnificent promiſes of a more ſplendid fortune ſtill in ſtore. Intoxicated with all theſe, he forgot his uſual reſerve and moderation, and was unable to reſtrain this extravagant ſally of vanity, which became the more remarkable, by being both ſo uncommon and ſo public.

He himſelf ſeems to have been immediately ſenſible of the impropriety of his behaviour; and when the French ambaſſadors demanded next day a more clear explanation of what he had ſaid concerning the combat, he told them that they were not to conſider his propoſal as a formal challenge to their maſter, but as an expedient for preventing bloodſhed;

bloodshed; he endeavoured to soften several expressions in his discourse; and spoke in terms full of respect towards Francis. But though this slight apology was far from being sufficient to remove the offence which had been given, Francis, by an unaccountable infatuation, continued to negociate, as if it had still been possible to bring their differences to a period by an amicable composition. Charles, finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and, by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained farther time to prepare for the execution of his own designs[i].

Charles invades France.

At last, the Imperial army assembled on the frontiers of the Milanese, to the amount of forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiss, whom Charles artfully persuaded the popish cantons to recal, that they might not serve against the Duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general not daring to risque a battle, retired as soon as the Imperialists advanced. The Emperor put himself at the head of his forces, which the Marquis del Guasto, the Duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzaga commanded under him, though the supreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whose abilities and experience justly entitled him to that distinction. Charles soon disco-

May 6.

[i] Mem. de Bellay, 205, &c.

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vered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to puſh forward and invade the ſouthern provinces of France. This ſcheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking meaſures for executing it with ſuch vigour as might enſure ſucceſs. He had remitted large ſums to his ſiſter, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, and to his brother, the King of the Romans, inſtructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two ſeparate bodies, the one to enter France on the ſide of Picardy, the other on the ſide of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the oppoſite frontier of the kingdom. Truſting to theſe vaſt preparations, he thought it impoſſible that Francis could reſiſt ſo many unexpected attacks on ſuch different quarters; and began his enterpriſe with ſuch confidence of its happy iſſue, that he deſired Jovius the hiſtorian, to make a large proviſion of paper ſufficient to record the victories which he was going to obtain.

His miniſters and generals, inſtead of entertaining the ſame ſanguine hopes, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt terms the danger of leading his troops ſo far from his own territories, to ſuch a diſtance from his magazines, and into provinces which did not yield ſufficient ſubſiſtence for their own inhabitants. They entreated him to conſider the inexhauſtible reſources of France in maintaining a defenſive war, and the active zeal with which a gallant

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a gallant nobility would ſerve a Prince whom they loved, in repelling the enemies of their country; they recalled to his remembrance the fatal miſcarriage of Bourbon and Peſcara, when they ventured upon the ſame enterpriſe under circumſtances which ſeemed as certainly to promiſe ſucceſs; the Marquis del Guaſto, in particular, fell on his knees, and conjured him to abandon the undertaking as deſperate. But many circumſtances combined in leading Charles to diſregard all their remonſtrances. He could ſeldom be brought, on any occaſion, to depart from a reſolution which he had once taken; he was too apt to under-rate and deſpiſe the talents of his rival the King of France, becauſe they differed ſo widely from his own; he was blinded by the preſumption which accompanies proſperity; and relied, perhaps, in ſome degree, on the prophecies which predicted the increaſe of his own grandeur. He not only adhered obſtinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except ſuch towns as were abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving his communication with the Milaneſe.

Recovers part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

THE Marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had entruſted the command of a ſmall body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered this more eaſy than Charles had any reaſon to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, diſtinguiſhed by continual marks of the King's fa-

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vour, and honoured ſo lately with a charge of ſuch importance, ſuddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of diſguſt, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action were as childiſh as the deed itſelf was baſe. Being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious faith in divination and aſtrology, he believed with full aſſurance, that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the Emperor would eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence, in attaching himſelf to his riſing fortune, and could incur no blame for deſerting a Prince whom Heaven had devoted to deſtruction [k]. His treaſon became ſtill more odious, by his employing that very authority with which Francis had inveſted him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever meaſures were propoſed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conqueſts, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himſelf, as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpoſe, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greateſt conſequence untenable, by leaving them deſtitute either of proviſions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a ſufficient garriſon; and the Imperialiſts muſt have reduced Piedmont in as ſhort a time as was neceſſary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, had not, by

[k] Bellay, 222, a. 246, b.

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an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them almoſt a month before that inconſiderable place.

Francis's plan for the defence of his kingdom.

By this meritorious and ſeaſonable ſervice, he gained his maſter ſufficient time for aſſembling his forces, and for concerting a ſyſtem of defence againſt a danger which he now ſaw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in chuſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it, deſerve the greater praiſe, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them; and to ſave the whole kingdom, by ſacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for ſuch a truſt. Haughty, ſevere, confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men; incapable of being diverted from any reſolution by remonſtrances or entreaties; and, in proſecuting any ſcheme, regardleſs alike of love or of pity.

Entruſts Montmorency with the execution of it.

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MONTMORENCY made choice of a ſtrong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance, one of which plentifully ſupplied his troops with all neceſſaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that ſide where it was moſt probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied induſtry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and aſſembled there a conſiderable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the King with another body of troops encamped at Valence higher up the Rhone. Marſeilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it neceſſary to defend; the former, in order to retain the command of the ſea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of theſe he furniſhed with numerous garriſons of his beſt troops, commanded by officers on whoſe fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns, as well as of the open country, were compelled to abandon their houſes, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage, and proviſions of every kind, were carried away or deſtroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs. The devaſtation extended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and from the ſea to the confines of Dauphiné;

phiné; nor does hiſtory afford any inſtance among civilized nations, in which this cruel expedient for the public ſafety was employed with the ſame rigour.

Charles enters Provence.

At length, the Emperor arrived with the van of his army on the frontiers of Provence, and was ſtill ſo poſſeſſed with confidence of ſucceſs, that, during a few days when he was obliged to halt until the reſt of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conqueſts among his officers; and as a new incitement to ſerve him with zeal, gave them liberal promiſes of offices, lands, and honours in France[l]. The face of deſolation, however, which preſented itſelf to him, when he entered the country, began to damp his hopes, and convinced him that a Monarch, who, in order to diſtreſs an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richeſt provinces, would defend the reſt with deſperate obſtinacy. Nor was it long before he became ſenſible that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which Charles chiefly depended for ſubſiſtence, was prevented for ſome time by contrary winds, and other accidents to which naval operations are ſubject, from approaching the French coaſt; even after his arrival, it afforded at beſt a precarious and ſcanty ſupply to ſuch a numerous body of troops[m]; nothing was to be found in the country itſelf for their ſupport; nor

[l] Bellay, 266, a.

[m] Sandov. ii. 231.

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could they draw any conſiderable aid from the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, exhauſted already by maintaining two great armies. The Emperor was no leſs embarraſſed how to employ, than how to ſubſiſt his forces; for though he was now in poſſeſſion of almoſt an entire province, he could not be ſaid to have the command of it, while he held only defenceleſs towns; and while the French, beſides their camp at Avignon, continued maſters of Marſeilles and Arles. At firſt he thought of attacking the camp, and of terminating the war by one deciſive blow; but ſkilful officers, who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable. He then gave orders to inveſt Marſeilles and Arles, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous poſt in order to relieve them; but Montmorency adhering firmly to his plan, remained immoveable at Avignon, and the Imperialiſts met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſons of both towns, that they relinquiſhed their enterpriſes with loſs and diſgrace. As a laſt effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, though with an army haraſſed by the perpetual incurſions of ſmall parties of the French light troops, weakened by diſeaſes, and diſpirited by diſaſters, which ſeemed the more intolerable, becauſe they were unexpected.

Beſi ges Marſeilles.

Montmorency's fortitude in adhering to his plan of defence.

DURING theſe operations, Montmorency found himſelf expoſed to greater danger from his own troops than from the enemy; and their inconſiderate

derate valour went near to have precipitated the kingdom into thoſe calamities which he with ſuch induſtry and caution had endeavoured to avoid. Unaccuſtomed to behold an enemy ravaging their country almoſt without controul; impatient of ſuch long inaction; unacquainted with the ſlow and remote, but certain effects of Montmorency's ſyſtem of defence; the French wiſhed for a battle with no leſs ardour than the Imperialiſts. They conſidered the conduct of their general as a diſgrace to their country. His caution they imputed to timidity; his circumſpection to want of ſpirit; and the conſtancy with which he purſued his plan, to obſtinacy or pride. Theſe reflections, whiſpered at firſt among the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, were adopted, by degrees, by officers of higher rank; and as many of them envied Montmorency's favour with the King, and more were diſſatisfied with his harſh diſguſting manner, the diſcontent ſoon became great in his camp, which was filled with general murmurings, and almoſt open complaints againſt his meaſures. Montmorency, on whom the ſentiments of his own troops made as little impreſſion as the inſults of the enemy, adhered ſteadily to his ſyſtem; though, in order to reconcile the army to his maxims, no leſs contrary to the genius of the nation, than to the ideas of war among undiſciplined troops, he aſſumed an unuſual affability in his deportment, and often explained, with great condeſcenſion, the motives of his conduct, the advantages which had already reſulted from it, and the certain

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certain ſucceſs which which it would be attended. At laſt, Francis joined his army at Avignon, which, having received ſeveral reinforcements, he now conſidered as of ſtrength ſufficient to face the enemy. As he had put no ſmall conſtraint upon himſelf, in conſenting that his troops ſhould remain ſo long upon the defenſive, it can hardly be doubted but that his fondneſs for what was daring and ſplendid, added to the impatience both of officers and ſoldiers, would at laſt have over-ruled Montmorency's ſalutary caution [n].

The retreat and wretched condition of the Imperial army.

HAPPILY the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any raſh reſolution might have occaſioned. The Emperor, after ſpending two inglorious months in Provence, without having performed any thing ſuitable to his vaſt preparations, or that could juſtify the confidence with which he had boaſted of his own power, found that, beſides Antonio de Leyva, and other officers of diſtinction, he had loſt one half of his troops by diſeaſes or by famine; and that the reſt were in no condition to ſtruggle any longer with calamities, by which ſo many of their companions had periſhed. Neceſſity, therefore, extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was ſome time in motion before the French ſuſpected his intention, a body of light troops, aſſiſted by crowds of peaſants, eager to be revenged on thoſe who had brought ſuch deſolation

[n] Mem. de Bellay, 269, &c. 312, &c.

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n their country, hung upon the rear of the Im-
perialiſts, and by ſeizing every favourable oppor-
unity of attacking them, threw them often into
confuſion. The road by which they fled, for they
purſued their march with ſuch diſorder and preci-
pitation that it ſcarcely deſerves the name of a
retreat, was ſtrewed with arms or baggage, which
n their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned,
nd covered with the ſick, the wounded, and the
dead; inſomuch that Martin Bellay, an eye-
witneſs of their calamities, endeavours to give his
eaders ſome idea of them, by comparing their
miſeries to thoſe which the Jews ſuffered from
he victorious and deſtructive arms of the Ro-
mans °. If Montmorency, at this critical moment,
ad advanced with all his forces, nothing could have
aved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin.
But that general, by ſtanding ſo long and ſo ob-
tinately on the defenſive, had become cautious
o exceſs; his mind, tenacious of any bent it had
nce taken, could not aſſume a contrary one as
uddenly as the change of circumſtances required;
nd he ſtill continued to repeat his favourite
maxims, that it was more prudent to allow the
ion to eſcape, than to drive him to deſpair, and
hat a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a retreat-
ng enemy.

THE Emperor having conducted the ſhattered
emains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan,

° Mem. de Bellay, 316. Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 232.

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and appointed the marquis del Guaſto to ſucceed Leyva in the government of that dutchy, ſet out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expoſe himſelf to the ſcorn of the Italians, after ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune; and did not chuſe, under his preſent circumſtances, to reviſit thoſe cities through which he had ſo lately paſſed in triumph for one

November.

conqueſt, and in certain expectation of another, he embarked directly for Spain [p].

Operations in Picardy.

NOR was the progreſs of his arms on the oppoſite frontier of France ſuch as to alleviate, in any degree, the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Provence. Bellay, by his addreſs and intrigues, had prevailed on ſo many of the German Princes to withdraw the contingent of troops which they had furniſhed to the King of the Romans, that he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of his intended irruption into Champagne. Though a powerful army levied in the Low-Countries entered Picardy, which they found but feebly guarded, while the ſtrength of the kingdom was drawn towards the ſouth; yet the nobility, taking arms with their uſual alacrity, ſupplied by their ſpirit the defects of the king's preparations, and defended Peronne, and other towns which were attacked with ſuch vigour, as obliged the enemy to retire, without making any conqueſt of importance [q].

[p] Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxv. p. 174, &c.

[q] Mem. de Bellay, 318, &c.

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THUS Francis, by the prudence of his own measures, and by the union and valour of his subjects, rendered abortive those vast efforts in which his rival had almost exhausted his whole force. As this humbled the Emperor's arrogance no less than it checked his power, he was mortified more sensibly on this occasion than on any other, during the course of the long contests between him and the French Monarch.

Death of the Dauphin.

ONE circumstance alone embittered the joy with which the success of the campaign inspired Francis. That was the death of the Dauphin, his eldest son, a Prince of great hopes, and extremely beloved by the people on account of his resemblance to his father. This happening suddenly, was imputed to poison, not only by the vulgar, fond of ascribing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, but by the King and his ministers. The count de Montecuculi, an Italian nobleman, cupbearer to the Dauphin, being seized on suspicion and put to the torture, openly charged the Imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva, with having instigated him to the commission of that crime; he even threw out some indirect and obscure accusations against the Emperor himself. At a time when all France was exasperated to the utmost against Charles, this uncertain and extorted charge was considered as an incontestible proof of guilt; while the confidence with which both he and his officers asserted their own innocence, together with

Imputed to poison.

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with the indignation, as well as horror, which they expreſſed on their being ſuppoſed capable of ſuch a deteſtable action, were little attended to, and leſs regarded [r]. It is evident, however, that the Emperor could have no inducement to perpetrate ſuch a crime, as Francis was ſtill in the vigour of life himſelf, and had two ſons, beſide the Dauphin, grown up almoſt to the age of manhood. That ſingle conſideration, without mentioning the Emperor's general character, unblemiſhed by the imputation of any deed reſembling this in atrocity, is more than ſufficient to counterbalance the weight of a dubious teſtimony uttered during the anguiſh of torture [s]. According to the moſt unprejudiced hiſtorians, the Dauphin's death was occaſioned by his having drunk too freely of cold water after over-heating himſelf at tennis; and this account, as it is the moſt ſimple, is likewiſe the moſt credible. But if his days were cut ſhort by poiſon, it is not improbable that the Emperor conjectured rightly, when he affirmed that it had been adminiſtered by the direction of Catherine of Medici, in order to ſecure the crown to the duke of Orleans, her huſband [t]. The advantages reſulting to her by the Dauphin's death, were obvious as well as great; nor did her boundleſs and daring ambition ever recoil from any action neceſſary towards attaining the objects which ſhe had in view.

[r] Mem. de Bellay, 289.
[s] Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 231.
[t] Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlo V. p. 75.

1537. Decree of the parliament of Paris againſt the Emperor.

NEXT year opened with a tranſaction very uncommon, but ſo incapable of producing any effect, that it would not deſerve to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking proof of the perſonal animoſity which mingled itſelf in all the hoſtilities between Charles and Francis, and which often betrayed them into ſuch indecencies towards each other, as leſſened the dignity of both. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his ſeat in the parliament of Paris with the uſual ſolemnities, the advocate-general appeared; and after accuſing Charles of Auſtria (for ſo he affected to call the Emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was abſolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; inſiſted that this treaty being now void, he was ſtill to be conſidered as a vaſſal of the crown, and by conſequence had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms againſt his ſovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles ſhould be ſummoned to appear in perſon, or by his counſel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to anſwer for this crime. The requeſt was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and ſummoned him with the accuſtomed formalities to appear againſt a day prefixed. That term being expired, and no perſon appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, "That Charles of Auſtria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy thoſe fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be re-united to the crown of France;" and

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and ordered their decree for this purpoſe to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet on the frontiers of theſe provinces [u].

Campaign opens in the Low-Countries.

March.

Soon after this vain diſplay of his reſentment, rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low-Countries, as if he had intended to execute the ſentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to ſeize thoſe territories which it had awarded to him. As the Queen of Hungary, to whom her brother the Emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for ſo early a campaign, he at firſt made ſome progreſs, and took ſeveral towns of importance. But being obliged ſoon to leave his army, in order to ſuperintend the other operations of war, the Flemings, having aſſembled a numerous army, not only recovered moſt of the places which they had loſt, but began to make conqueſts in their turn. At laſt they inveſted Terouenne, and the Duke of Orleans, now Dauphin, by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the conſtable's ſword, as the reward of his great ſervices during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpoſe, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were ſtopt ſhort by the arrival of an herald from the Queen of

A ſuſpenſion of arms there;

[u] Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, par Ribier, 2 tom. Blois, 1666. tom. i. p. 1.

Hungary,

Hungary, acquainting him that a ſuſpenſion of arms was now agreed upon. 1537.

THIS unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two ſiſters, the Queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending Monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waſte the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either. The French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both. Charles as well as Francis, who had each ſtrained to the utmoſt, in order to ſupport the vaſt operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter, without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wiſhed to puſh the war with the greateſt vigour. All theſe circumſtances facilitated the negociations of the two Queens; a truce was concluded, to continue in force for ten months, but it extended no farther than the Low-Countries [x]. July 30.

IN Piedmont the war was ſtill proſecuted with great animoſity; and though neither Charles nor Francis could make the powerful efforts to which this animoſity prompted them, they continued to exert themſelves like combatants, whoſe rancour remains after their ſtrength is exhauſted. Towns were alternately loſt and retaken; ſkirmiſhes were and in Piedmont.

[x] Memoires de Ribier, 56.

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1537. fought every day; and much blood was ſhed, without any action that gave a decided ſuperiority to either ſide. At laſt the two Queens determining not to leave unfiniſhed the good work which they had begun, prevailed, by their importunate ſolicitations, the one on her brother, the other on her huſband, to conſent alſo to a truce in Piedmont for three months. The conditions of it were, that each ſhould keep poſſeſſion of what was in his hands, and after leaving garriſons in the towns, ſhould withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries ſhould be appointed to adjuſt all matters in diſpute by a final treaty [y].

Motives of it.

THE powerful motives which inclined both Princes to this accommodation, have been often mentioned. The expences of the war had far exceeded the ſums which their revenues were capable of ſupplying; nor durſt they venture upon any great addition to the impoſitions then eſtabliſhed, as ſubjects had not yet learnt to bear with patience the immenſe burdens to which they have become accuſtomed in modern times. The Emperor in particular, though he had contracted debts which in that age appeared prodigious [z], had it not in his power to pay the large arrears long due to his army. At the ſame time he had no proſpect of deriving any aid in money or men either from the Pope or Venetians, though

[y] Memoires de Ribier, 62. [z] Ribier, i. 294.

he

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he had employed promiſes and threats, alternately, in order to procure it. But he found the former not only fixed in his reſolution of adhering ſteadily to the neutrality which he had always declared to be ſuitable to his character, but paſſionately deſirous of bringing about a peace. He perceived that the latter were ſtill intent on their ancient object of holding the balance even between the rivals, and ſolicitous not to throw too great a weight into either ſcale.

Of which Francis's alliance with the Turkiſh Emperor the moſt conſiderable.

WHAT made a deeper impreſſion on Charles than all theſe, was the dread of the Turkiſh arms, which, by his league with Solyman, Francis had drawn upon him. Though Francis, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle ally, had a war to maintain againſt an enemy greatly ſuperior in power to himſelf, yet ſo great was the horror of Chriſtians, in that age, at any union with Infidels, which they conſidered not only as diſhonourable but profane, that it was long before he could be brought to avail himſelf of the obvious advantages reſulting from ſuch a confederacy. Neceſſity at laſt ſurmounted his delicacy and ſcruples. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, La Foreſt, a ſecret agent at the Ottoman Porte, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples, during the next campaign, and to attack the King of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army, while Francis undertook to enter the Milaneſe at the ſame time with a proper force. Solyman had

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1537. punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbaroſſa with a great fleet appeared on the coaſt of Naples, filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with conſternation, landed without reſiſtance near Taranto, obliged Caſtro, a place of ſome ſtrength, to ſurrender, plundered the adjacent country, and was taking meaſures for ſecuring and extending his conqueſts, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the Pope's gallies, and a ſquadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the progreſs of the Turks was more formidable. Mahmet, their general, after gaining ſeveral ſmall advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Eſſek on the Drave [a]. Happily for Chriſtendom, it was not in Francis's power to execute with equal exactneſs what he had ſtipulated; nor could he aſſemble at this juncture an army ſtrong enough to penetrate into the Milaneſe. By this he failed in recovering poſſeſſion of that dutchy; and Italy was not only ſaved from the calamities of a new war, but from feeling the deſolating rage of the Turkiſh arms, as an addition to all that it had ſuffered [b]. As the Emperor knew that he could not long reſiſt the efforts of two ſuch powerful confederates, nor could expect that the ſame fortunate accidents would concur a ſecond time to deliver Naples,

[a] Iſtuanheffi Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiii. p. 139.

[b] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxv. p. 183.

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and to preſerve the Milaneſe: as he foreſaw that the Italian ſtates would not only tax him loudly with inſatiable ambition, but might even turn their arms againſt him, if he ſhould be ſo regardleſs of their danger as obſtinately to protract the war, he thought it neceſſary, both for his ſafety and reputation, to give his conſent to a truce. Nor was Francis willing to ſuſtain all the blame of obſtructing the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, or to expoſe himſelf on that account to the danger of being deſerted by the Swiſs and other foreigners in his ſervice. He even began to apprehend that his own ſubjects would ſerve him coldly, if by contributing to aggrandize the power of the infidels, which it was his duty, and had been the ambition of his anceſtors to depreſs, he continued to act in direct oppoſition to all the principles which ought to influence a Monarch diſtinguiſhed by the title of Moſt Chriſtian King. He choſe for all theſe reaſons, rather to run the riſk of diſobliging his new ally the Sultan, than, by an unreaſonable adherence to the treaty with him, to forfeit what was of greater conſequence.

Negociations of a peace between Charles and Francis.

But though both parties conſented to a truce, the plenipotentiaries found inſuperable difficulties in ſettling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the Monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would ſo far acknowledge his inferiority, as to ſacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquiſh any matter of right; ſo that the plenipotentiaries

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ſpent the time in long and fruitleſs negociations, and ſeparated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months.

The Pope conducts theſe inperſon.

THE Pope, however, did not deſpair of accompliſhing a point in which the plenipotentiaries had failed, and took upon himſelf the ſole burden of negociating a peace. To form a confederacy capable of defending Chriſtendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkiſh arms, and to concert effectual meaſures for the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart, and he conſidered the union of the Emperor with the King of France as an eſſential preliminary to both. To be the inſtrument of reconciling theſe contending Monarchs, whom his predeceſſors by their intereſted and indecent intrigues had ſo often embroiled, was a circumſtance which could not fail of throwing a diſtinguiſhed luſtre on his character and adminiſtration. Nor was he without hopes that, while he purſued this laudable end, he might ſecure advantages to his own family, the aggrandizing of which he did not neglect, though he aimed at it with a leſs audacious ambition than was common among the Popes of that century. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, he propoſed an interview between the two Monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in perſon, that he might act as mediator in compoſing all their differences. When a Pontiff of a venerable character, and of a very advanced age, was willing

from

from his zeal for peace, to undergo the fatigues of so long a journey, neither Charles nor Francis could with decency decline the interview. But though both came to the place of rendezvous, so great was the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial, or such the remains of distrust and rancour on each side, that they refused to see one another, and every thing was transacted by the intervention of the Pope, who visited them alternately. With all his zeal and ingenuity he could not find out a method of removing the obstacles which prevented a final accommodation, particularly those arising from the possession of the Milanese; nor was all the weight of his authority sufficient to overcome the obstinate perseverance of either Monarch in asserting his own claims. At last, that he might not seem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to sign a truce for ten years, upon the same condition with the former, that each should retain what was now in his possession, and in the mean time should send ambassadors to Rome, to discuss their pretensions at leisure [c].

A truce for ten years concluded at Nice. June 18.

THUS ended a war of no long continuance, but very extensive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmost strength. Though Francis failed in the object which he had prin-

[c] Recueil des Traitez, ii. 210. Relatione del Nicolo Tiepolo de l'Abocamento di Nizza, chez Du Mont Corps Diplomat. par. ii. p. 174.

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pally in view, the recovery of the Milaneſe, he acquired, nevertheleſs, great reputation by the wiſdom of his meaſures as well as the ſucceſs of his arms in repelling a formidable invaſion; and by keeping poſſeſſion of one half of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, he added no inconſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength to his kingdom. Whereas Charles, repulſed and baffled, after having boaſted ſo arrogantly of victory, purchaſed an inglorious truce, by ſacrificing an ally who had raſhly confided too much in his friendſhip and power. The unfortunate Duke murmured, complained, and remonſtrated againſt a treaty ſo much to his diſadvantage, but in vain; he had no means of redreſs, and was obliged to ſubmit. Of all his dominions, Nice, with its dependencies, was the only corner of which he himſelf kept poſſeſſion. He ſaw the reſt divided between a powerful invader and the ally to whoſe protection he had truſted, while he remained a ſad monument of the imprudence of weak princes, who, by taking part in the quarrel of mighty neighbours, between whom they happen to be ſituated, are cruſhed and overwhelmed in the ſhock.

Interview between Charles and Francis at Aigues-mortes.

A FEW days after ſigning the treaty of truce, the Emperor ſet ſail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the iſland St. Margaret, on the coaſt of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far diſtant, heard of this, he conſidered it as an office of civility to invite him to take ſhelter in his dominions, and propoſed a perſonal

perſonal interview with him at Aigues-mortes. The Emperor, who would not be outdone by his rival in complaiſance, inſtantly repaired thither. As ſoon as he caſt anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to ſettle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his ſecurity, viſited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmeſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection. Next day the Emperor repaid the confidence which the King had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on ſhore during the night, and in both viſits the two Monarchs vied with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip[d]. After twenty years of open hoſtilities, or of ſecret enmity; after ſo many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lie, and challenged one another to ſingle combat; after the Emperor had inveighed ſo publicly againſt Francis as a Prince void of honour or integrity; and after Francis had accuſed him of being acceſſary to the murder of his eldeſt ſon; ſuch an interview appears altogether ſingular and even unnatural. But the hiſtory of theſe Monarchs abounds with ſuch ſurpriſing tranſitions. From implacable hatred they appeared to paſs, in a moment, to the moſt cordial reconcilement; from

[d] Sandov. Hiſt. vol. ii. 238. Relation de l'Entrevue de Charl. V. & Fran. I. par M. de la Rivoire. Hiſt. de Langued. par D. D. De Vic. & Vaiſette, tom. v. Preuves, p. 93.

ſuſpicion

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ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, to perfect confidence; and from practiſing all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could aſſume, of a ſudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen.

The Pope, beſides the glory of having reſtored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great conſequence to his family, by prevailing on the Emperor to betroth Margaret of Auſtria, his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander di Medici, to his grandſon Octavio Farneſe, and in conſideration of this marriage, to beſtow ſeveral honours and territories upon his future ſon-in-law. A very tragical event, which happened about the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, had deprived Margaret of her firſt huſband. That young Prince, whom the Emperor's partiality had raiſed to the ſupreme power in Florence, upon the ruins of the public liberty, neglected entirely the cares of government, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt diſſolute debauchery. Lorenzo di Medici his neareſt kinſman was not only the companion but director of his pleaſures, and employing all the powers of a cultivated and inventive genius in this diſhonourable miniſtry, added ſuch elegance as well as variety to vice, as gained him an abſolute aſcendant over the mind of Alexander. But while Lorenzo ſeemed to be ſunk in luxury, and affected ſuch an appearance of indolence and effeminacy, that he would not wear a ſword, and trembled at the ſight of

The aſſaſſination of Alexander di Medici.

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of blood, he concealed under that diſguiſe, a dark, deſigning, audacious ſpirit. Prompted either by the love of liberty, or allured by the hope of attaining the ſupreme power, he determined to aſſaſſinate Alexander his benefactor and friend. Though he long revolved this deſign in his mind, his reſerved and ſuſpicious temper prevented him from communicating it to any perſon whatever; and continuing to live with Alexander in their uſual familiarity, he, one night, under pretence of having ſecured him an aſſignation with a lady of high rank whom he had often ſolicited, drew that unwary Prince into a ſecret apartment of his houſe, and there ſtabbed him, while he lay careleſsly on a couch expecting the arrival of the lady whoſe company he had been promiſed. But no ſooner was the deed done, than ſtanding aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with horror at its atrocity, he forgot, in a moment, all the motives which had induced him to commit it. Inſtead of rouſing the people to recover their liberty by publiſhing the death of the tyrant, inſtead of taking any ſtep towards opening his own way to the dignity now vacant, he locked the door of the apartment, and, like a man bereaved of reaſon and preſence of mind, fled with the utmoſt precipitation out of the Florentine territories. It was late next morning before the fate of the unfortunate Prince was known, as his attendants, accuſtomed to his irregularities, never entered his apartment early. Immediately the chief perſons in the ſtate aſſembled. Being induced partly by the zeal of cardinal Cibo

for

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for the houſe of Medici, to which he was nearly related, partly by the authority of Francis Guicciardini, who recalled to their memory, and repreſented in ſtriking colours the caprice as well as turbulence of their ancient popular government, they agreed to place Coſmo di Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illuſtrious houſe, at the head of the government; though at the ſame time ſuch was their love of liberty, that they eſtabliſhed ſeveral regulations in order to circumſcribe and moderate his power.

1538. Coſmo di Medici placed at the head of the Florentine ſtate.

MEANWHILE, Lorenzo having reached a place of ſafety, made known what he had done, to Philip Strozzi and the other Florentines who had been driven into exile, or who had voluntarily retired, when the republican form of government was aboliſhed, in order to make way for the dominion of the Medici. By them, the deed was extolled with extravagant praiſes, and the virtue of Lorenzo was compared with that of the elder Brutus, who diſregarded the ties of blood, or with that of the younger, who forgot the friendſhip and favours of the tyrant, that they might preſerve or recover the liberty of their country[e]. Nor did they reſt ſatisfied with empty panegyrics; they immediately quitted their different places of retreat, aſſembled forces, animated their vaſſals and partizans to take arms, and to ſeize this opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the public liberty on its an-

His government oppoſed by the Florentine exiles.

[e] Lettere di Principi, tom. iii. p. 52.

cient foundation. Being openly aſſiſted by the French ambaſſador at Rome, and ſecretly encouraged by the Pope, who bore no good-will to the houſe of Medici, they entered the Florentine dominions with a conſiderable body of men. But the perſons who had elected Coſmo poſſeſſed not only the means of ſupporting his government, but abilities to employ them in the moſt proper manner. They levied, with the greateſt expedition, a good number of troops; they endeavoured by every art to gain the citizens of greateſt authority, and to render the adminiſtration of the young Prince agreeable to the people. Above all, they courted the Emperor's protection, as the only firm foundation of Coſmo's dignity and power. Charles, knowing the propenſity of the Florentines to the friendſhip of France, and how much all the partizans of a republican government deteſted him as the oppreſſor of their liberties, ſaw it to be greatly for his intereſt to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient conſtitution in Florence. For this reaſon, he not only acknowledged Coſmo as head of the Florentine ſtate, and conferred on him all the titles of honour with which Alexander had been dignified, but engaged to defend him to the utmoſt; and as a pledge of this, ordered the commanders of ſuch of his troops as were ſtationed on the frontiers of Tuſcany, to ſupport him againſt all aggreſſors. By their aid, Coſmo obtained an eaſy victory over the exiles, whoſe troops he ſurpriſed in the night-time, and took moſt of the chiefs

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chiefs priſoners: an event which broke all their meaſures, and fully eſtabliſhed his own authority. But though he was extremely deſirous of the additional honour of marrying the Emperor's daughter, the widow of his predeceſſor, Charles, ſecure already of his attachment, choſe rather to gratify the Pope, by beſtowing her on his nephew [f].

The friendſhip between Francis and Henry VIII. begins to abate.

DURING the war between the Emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in ſome degree the warmth and cordiality of friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the latter and the King of England. James the Fifth of Scotland, an enterpriſing young Prince, having heard of the Emperor's intention to invade Provence, was ſo fond of ſhewing that he did not yield to any of his anceſtors in the ſincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and ſo eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome military exploit, that he levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the King of France. Though ſome unfortunate accidents prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in perſon. Immediately upon his landing, he haſtened to Provence, but had been detained ſo long in his voyage, that he came too late to have any ſhare in the military operations, and met the King on his return

[f] Jovii Hiſt. c. xcviii. p. 218, &c. Belcarii Comment. l. xxii. p. 696. Iſtoria de ſui Tempi di Giov. Bat. Adriani. Ven. 1587. p. 10.

after

after the retreat of the Imperialiſts. But Francis was ſo greatly pleaſed with his zeal, and no leſs with his manners and converſation, that he could not refuſe him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. It mortified Henry extremely to ſee a Prince of whom he was immoderately jealous, form an alliance, from which he derived ſuch an acceſſion of reputation as well as ſecurity [g]. He could not, however, with decency, oppoſe Francis's beſtowing his daughter upon a Monarch deſcended from a race of Princes, the moſt ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the ſudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his ſecond wife Mary of Guiſe, he warmly ſolicited Francis to deny his ſuit, and in order to diſappoint him, aſked that lady in marriage for himſelf. When Francis preferred the Scottiſh King's ſincere courtſhip to his artful and malevolent propoſal, he diſcovered much diſſatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new ſuſpicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendſhip for the ſake of new connections with the Emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the Engliſh King, and watchful to obſerve all the ſhiftings and caprices of his paſſions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negociations with

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The Emperor courts Henry.

[g] Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 77.

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him, which had been long broken off. By the death of Queen Catharine, whoſe intereſt the Emperor could not with decency have abandoned, the chief cauſe of their diſcord was removed; ſo that without touching upon the delicate queſtion of her divorce, he might now take what meaſures he thought moſt effectual for regaining Henry's goodwill. For this purpoſe, he began with propoſing ſeveral marriage-treaties to the King. He offered his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark, to Henry himſelf; he demanded the princeſs Mary for one of the Princes of Portugal, and was even willing to receive her as the King's illegitimate daughter[h]. Though none of theſe projected alliances ever took place, or perhaps were ever ſeriouſly intended, they occaſioned ſuch frequent intercourſe between the courts, and ſo many reciprocal profeſſions of civility and eſteem, as conſiderably abated the edge of Henry's rancour againſt the Emperor, and paved the way for that union between them which afterwards proved ſo diſadvantageous to the French King.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

THE ambitious ſchemes in which the Emperor had been engaged, and the wars he had been carrying on for ſome years, proved, as uſual, extremely favourable to the progreſs of the Reformation in Germany. While Charles was abſent upon his African expedition, or intent on his projects againſt France, his chief object in Ger-

[h] Mem. de Ribier, t. i. 496.

many

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many was to prevent the diſſenſions about religion from diſturbing the public tranquillity, by granting ſuch indulgence to the Proteſtant Princes as might induce them to concur with his meaſures, or at leaſt hinder them from taking part with his rival. For this reaſon, he was careful to ſecure to the Proteſtants the poſſeſſion of all the advantages which they had gained by the articles of pacification at Nuremberg, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two[1]; and except ſome ſlight trouble from the proceedings of the Imperial chamber, they met with nothing to diſturb them in the exerciſe of their religion, or to interrupt the ſucceſsful zeal with which they propagated their opinions. Meanwhile the Pope continued his negociations for convoking a general council; and though the Proteſtants had expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua as the place of meeting, he adhered obſtinately to his choice, iſſued a bull on the ſecond of June, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, appointing it to aſſemble in that city on the twenty-third of May the year following: he nominated three cardinals to preſide in his name; enjoined all Chriſtian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the Prelates of every nation to attend in perſon. This ſummons of a council, an aſſembly which from its nature and intention demanded quiet times, as well as pacific diſpoſitions, at the very juncture when the Emperor was

Negociations and intrigues with reſpect to a general council.

[1] Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 138.

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1538. on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confuſions of war, appeared to every perſon extremely unſeaſonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios diſpatched of purpoſe [k]. With an intention to gratify the Germans, the Emperor, during his reſidence in Rome, had warmly ſolicited the Pope to call a council; but being at the ſame time willing to try every art in order to perſuade Paul to depart from the neutrality which he preſerved between him and Francis, he ſent Heldo his vice-chancellor into Germany, along with a nuncio diſpatched thither, inſtructing him to ſecond all the nuncio's repreſentations, and to enforce them with the whole weight of the Imperial

Feb. 25, 1537. authority. The Proteſtants gave them audience at Smalkalde, where they had aſſembled in a body in order to receive them. But after weighing all their arguments they unanimouſly refuſed to acknowledge a council ſummoned in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone; in which he aſſumed the ſole right of preſiding; which was to be held in a city not only far diſtant from Germany, but ſubject to a Prince, who was a ſtranger to them, and cloſely connected with the court of Rome; and to which their divines could not repair with ſafety, eſpecially after their doctrines had been ſtigmatized in the very bull of convocation with the name of hereſy. Theſe and many other ob-

[k] Pallavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. 113.

jections

jections againſt the council, which appeared to them unanſwerable, they enumerated in a large manifeſts, which they publiſhed in vindication of their conduct [l]. 1538.

AGAINST this the court of Rome exclaimed as a flagrant proof of their obſtinacy and preſumption, and the Pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to hold the council at the time and in the place appointed. But ſome unexpected difficulties being ſtarted by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of juriſdiction over the perſons who reſorted to the council, and the ſecurity of his capital amidſt ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers, the Pope, after fruitleſs endeavours to adjuſt theſe, firſt prorogued the council for ſome months, and afterwards, transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza in the Venetian territories, appointed it to aſſemble on the firſt of May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor the French King, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their ſubjects to repair thither, not a ſingle prelate appeared on the day prefixed, and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by ſo many ineffectual efforts to convoke that aſſembly, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation [m]. Octob. 8, 1538.

[l] Sleidan, l. xii. 123, &c. Seckend. Com. lib. iii. 143, &c.

[m] F. Paul, 117. Pallavic. 117.

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1538. A partial reformation of abuſes by the Pope.

But, that he might not ſeem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accompliſh, while he neglected that which was in his own power, he deputed a certain number of cardinals and biſhops, with full authority to inquire into the abuſes and corruptions of the Roman court; and to propoſe the moſt effectual method of removing them. This ſcrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on ſlowly and with remiſſneſs. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of diſcovering too much. But even by this partial examination, many irregularities were detected, and many enormities expoſed to light, while the remedies which they ſuggeſted as moſt proper, were either inadequate, or were never applied. The report and reſolution of theſe deputies, though intended to be kept ſecret, were tranſmitted by ſome accident into Germany, and being immediately made public, afforded ample matter for reflection, and triumph to the Proteſtants[n]. On the one hand they demonſtrated the neceſſity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions againſt which Luther and his followers had remonſtrated with the greateſt vehemence. They ſhewed, on the other hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from eccleſiaſtics themſelves, who, as Luther ſtrongly

[n] Sleidan, 233.

expreſſed

expreſſed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers [o].

A league formed in oppoſition to that of Smalkalde.

THE earneſtneſs with which the Emperor ſeemed, at firſt, to preſs their acquieſcing in the Pope's ſcheme of holding a council in Italy, alarmed the Proteſtant Princes ſo much, that they thought it prudent to ſtrengthen their confederacy, by admitting ſeveral new members who ſolicited that privilege, particularly the King of Denmark. Heldo, who, during his reſidence in Germany, had obſerved all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the Catholic powers of the Empire. This league, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Holy*, was merely defenſive; and though concluded by Heldo in the Emperor's name, was afterwards diſowned by him, and ſubſcribed by very few Princes [p].

Alarms the Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants ſoon got intelligence of this aſſociation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the contracting parties to conceal it; and their zeal, always apt to ſuſpect and to dread, even to exceſs, every thing that ſeemed to threaten religion, inſtantly took the alarm, as if the Emperor had been juſt ready to enter upon the execution of ſome formidable plan for the extirpation of their opinions. In order to diſappoint this, they

[o] Seck. l. iii. 164. [p] Seck. l. iii. 171. Recueil des Traitez.

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1539. held frequent conſultations, they courted the Kings of France and England with great aſſiduity, and even began to think of raiſing the reſpective contingents both in men and money which they were obliged to furniſh by the treaty of Smalkalde. But it was not long before they were convinced that theſe apprehenſions were without foundation, and that the Emperor, to whom repoſe was abſolutely neceſſary after efforts ſo much beyond his ſtrength in the war with France, had no thoughts of diſturbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof of this, at an interview with the Proteſtant Princes in Francfort, his ambaſſadors agreed that all conceſſions in their favour, particularly thoſe contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, ſhould continue in force for fifteen months; that during this period all proceedings of the Imperial chamber againſt them ſhould be ſuſpended; that a conference ſhould be held by a few divines of each party, in order to diſcuſs the points in controverſy, and to propoſe articles of accommodation which ſhould be laid before the next Diet. Though the Emperor, that he might not irritate the Pope, who remonſtrated againſt the firſt part of this agreement as impolitic, and againſt the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was obſerved with conſiderable exactneſs, and greatly ſtrengthened the baſis of that eccleſiaſtical liberty, for which the Proteſtants contended [q].

April 19.

[q] F. Paul, 82. Sleid. 247. Seck. l. iii. 200.

A FEW days after the convention at Francfort, George Duke of Saxony died, and his death was an event of great advantage to the Reformation. That Prince, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, poſſeſſed, as marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, extenſive territories, comprehending Dreſden, Leipſic, and other cities now the moſt conſiderable in the electorate. From the firſt dawn of the Reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral Princes were its protectors, and had carried on his oppoſition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a virulence inſpired by perſonal antipathy to Luther, and imbittered by the domeſtic animoſity ſubſiſting between him and the other branch of his family. By his death without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to his brother Henry, whoſe attachment to the Proteſtant religion ſurpaſſed, if poſſible, that of his predeceſſor to popery. Henry no ſooner took poſſeſſion of his new dominions, than, diſregarding a clauſe in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the Emperor and King of the Romans, if his brother ſhould attempt to make any innovation in religion, he invited ſome Proteſtant divines, and among them Luther himſelf, to Leipſic. By their advice and aſſiſtance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole ſyſtem of ancient rites, eſtabliſhing the full exerciſe of the reformed religion, with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects, who had long wiſhed for this change, which the au-

1539. April 24. Reformation eſtabliſhed in every part of Saxony.

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thority of their Duke alone had hitherto prevented[r]. This revolution delivered the Proteſtants from the danger to which they were expoſed by having an inveterate enemy ſituated in the middle of their territories; and they had now the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that the poſſeſſions of the princes and cities attached to their cauſe, extended now in one great and almoſt unbroken line from the ſhore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.

A mutiny of the Imperial troops.

Soon after the concluſion of the truce at Nice, an event happened, which ſatisfied all Europe that Charles had proſecuted the war to the utmoſt extremity that the ſtate of his affairs would permit. Vaſt arrears were due to his troops, whom he had long amuſed with vain hopes and promiſes. As they now foreſaw what little attention would be paid to their demands, when by the re-eſtabliſhment of peace their ſervices became of leſs importance, they loſt all patience, broke out into an open mutiny, and declared that they thought themſelves entitled to ſeize by violence what was detained from them contrary to all juſtice. Nor was this ſpirit of ſedition confined to one part of the Emperor's dominions; the mutiny was almoſt as general as the grievance which gave riſe to it. The ſoldiers in the Milaneſe plundered the open country without controul, and filled the capital itſelf with conſternation. Thoſe in garriſon at Goletta threatened to give up that important fortreſs to Barbaroſſa. In Sicily, the troops pro-

[r] Sleidan, 249.

ceeded

ceeded to ſtill greater exceſſes; having driven away their officers, they elected others in their ſtead, defeated a body of men whom the viceroy ſent againſt them, took and pillaged ſeveral cities, conducting themſelves all the while in ſuch a manner, that their operations reſembled rather the regular proceedings of a concerted rebellion, than the raſhneſs and violence of a military mutiny. But by the addreſs and prudence of the generals, who partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their maſter, partly by extorting large ſums from the cities in their reſpective provinces, raiſed what was ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears of the ſoldiers, theſe inſurrections were quelled. The greater part of the troops were diſbanded, ſuch a number only being kept in pay as was neceſſary for garriſoning the principal towns, and protecting the ſea-coaſts from the inſults of the Turks [s].

Cortes of Caſtile held at Toledo.

It was happy for the Emperor that the abilities of his generals extricated him out of theſe difficulties, which it exceeded his own power to have removed. He had depended, as his chief reſource for diſcharging the arrears due to his ſoldiers, upon the ſubſidies which he expected from his Caſtilian ſubjects. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Toledo, and having repreſented to them the extraordinary expence of his military operations, together with the

[s] Jovii Hiſtor. l. xxxvii. 203. c. Sandov. Ferreras, ix. 209.

great

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great debts in which theſe had neceſſarily involved him, he propoſed to levy ſuch ſupplies as the preſent exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general exciſe on commodities. But the Spaniards already felt themſelves oppreſſed with a load of taxes unknown to their anceſtors. They had often complained that their country was drained not only of its wealth but of its inhabitants, in order to proſecute quarrels in which it was not intereſted, and to fight battles from which it could reap no benefit, and they determined not to add voluntarily to their own burdens, or to furniſh the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes no leſs ruinous to the kingdom than moſt of thoſe which he had hitherto carried on. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence againſt the impoſition propoſed, as an encroachment upon the valuable and diſtinguiſhing privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the repreſentatives of the cities concerning the ſtate of the nation. They contended that if Charles would imitate the example of his predeceſſors, who had reſided conſtantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himſelf in a multiplicity of tranſactions foreign to the concerns of his Spaniſh dominions, the ſtated revenues of the crown would be fully ſufficient to defray the neceſſary expences of government. They repreſented to him, that it would be unjuſt to lay new burdens upon the people, while this prudent and effectual method of re-eſtabliſhing public credit,

The complaints and diſſatisfaction of that aſſembly.

and

and ſecuring national opulence, was totally neglected [t]. Charles, after employing arguments, entreaties, and promiſes, but without ſucceſs, in order to overcome their obſtinacy, diſmiſſed the aſſembly with great indignation. From that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to theſe aſſemblies, on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the public taxes, ſhould not claim any vote in laying them on. None have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities. Theſe, to the number of thirty-ſix, being two from each community, form an aſſembly which bears no reſemblance either in power or dignity or independence to the ancient Cortes, and are abſolutely at the devotion of the court in all their determinations [u]. Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Caſtilian nobles had ſupported the regal prerogative, in oppoſition to the claims of the commons during the commotions in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, proved at laſt fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depreſs one of the orders in the ſtate, they deſtroyed that balance to which the conſtitution owed its ſecurity, and put it in his power, or in that of his ſucceſſors, to humble the other, and to ſtrip it gradually of its moſt valuable privileges.

The ancient conſtitution of the Cortes ſubverted.

[t] Sandov. Hiſt. vol. ii. 269.

[u] Sandov. ibid. Le Science du Gouvernement, par M. de Real, tom. ii. p. 102.

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1539. The Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed high privileges.

At that time, however, the Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed extraordinary power as well as privileges, which they exerciſed and defended with an haughtineſs peculiar to themſelves. Of this the Emperor himſelf had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As he was returning one day from a tournament accompanied by moſt of the nobility, one of the ſerjeants of the court, out of officious zeal to clear the way for the Emperor, ſtruck the Duke of Infantado's horſe with his batton, which that haughty grandee reſenting, drew his ſword, beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at ſuch an inſolent deed in his preſence, immediately ordered Ronquillo the judge of the court to arreſt the Duke; Ronquillo advanced to execute his charge, when the conſtable of Caſtile interpoſing, checked him, claimed the right of juriſdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles preſent were ſo pleaſed with the boldneſs of the conſtable in aſſerting the rights of their order, that, deſerting the Emperor, they attended him to his houſe with infinite applauſes, and Charles returned to the palace unaccompanied by any perſon but the cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, how ſenſible ſoever of the affront, ſaw the danger of irritating a jealous and high-ſpirited order of men, whom the ſlighteſt appearance of offence might drive to the moſt unwarrantable extremities. For that reaſon, inſtead of ſtraining

at

at any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, he prudently connived at the arrogance of a body too potent for him to controul, and ſent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what puniſhment he pleaſed on the perſon who had affronted him. The Duke conſidering this as a full reparation to his honour, inſtantly forgave the officer; beſtowing on him, beſides, a conſiderable preſent as a compenſation for his wound. Thus the affair was entirely forgotten[x]; nor would it have deſerved to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking example of the high and independent ſpirit of the Spaniſh nobles in that age, as well as an inſtance of the Emperor's dexterity in accommodating his conduct to the circumſtances in which he was placed. 1539.

Insurrection at Ghent.

CHARLES was far from diſcovering the ſame condeſcenſion or lenity towards the citizens of Ghent, who not long after broke out into open rebellion againſt his government. An event which happened in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, gave occaſion to this raſh inſurrection ſo fatal to that flouriſhing city. At that time the Queen-dowager of Hungary, governeſs of the Netherlands, having received orders from her brother to invade France with all the forces which ſhe could raiſe, ſhe aſſembled the States of the United Provinces, and obtained from them a ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand

[x] Sandov. ii. 274. Ferreras, ix. 212. Miniana, 113.

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florins, to defray the expence of that undertaking. Of this ſum, the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its proportion. But the citizens of Ghent, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, averſe to a war with France, with which they carried on an extenſive and gainful commerce, refuſed to pay their quota, and contended, that in conſequence of ſtipulations between them and the anceſtors of their preſent ſovereign the Emperor, no tax could be levied upon them, unleſs they had given their expreſs conſent to the impoſition of it. The governeſs, on the other hand, maintained, that as the ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand florins had been granted by the States of Flanders, of which their repreſentatives were members, they were bound, of courſe, to conform to what was enacted by them, as it is the firſt principle in ſociety, on which the tranquillity and order of government depend, that the inclinations of the minority muſt be overruled by the judgment and deciſion of the ſuperior number.

Pretenſions of the citizens.

Proceedings againſt them.

THE citizens of Ghent, however, were not willing to relinquiſh a privilege of ſuch high importance as that which they claimed. Having been accuſtomed, under the government of the houſe of Burgundy, to enjoy extenſive immunities, and to be treated with much indulgence, they diſdained to ſacrifice to the delegated power of a regent, thoſe rights and liberties which they had often and ſucceſsfully aſſerted againſt their greateſt

Princes.

Princes. The Queen, though ſhe endeavoured at firſt to ſooth them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various conceſſions, was at laſt ſo much irritated by the obſtinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that ſhe ordered all the citizens of Ghent, on whom ſhe could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arreſted. But this raſh action made an impreſſion very different from what ſhe expected, on men, whoſe minds were agitated with all the violent paſſions which indignation at oppreſſion and zeal for liberty inſpire. Leſs affected with the danger of their friends and companions, than irritated at the governeſs, they openly deſpiſed her authority, and ſent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at ſuch a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights againſt the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconſiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy againſt the governeſs: they joined, however, in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax ſo long, that they might have it in their power to ſend ſome of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their ſovereign. This ſhe granted with ſome difficulty. But Charles received their commiſſioners with an haughtineſs to which they were not accuſtomed from their ancient Princes, and enjoining them to yield the ſame reſpectful obedience to his ſiſter, which they owed to him in perſon,

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ſon, remitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a ſtanding committee of the parliament or ſtates of the country, and which poſſeſſes the ſupreme juriſdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal [y], pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill-founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay their proportion of the tax.

They take arms, and offer to ſubmit to France.

ENRAGED at this deciſion, which they conſidered as notoriouſly unjuſt, and rendered deſperate on ſeeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner; drove ſuch of the nobility as reſided among them out of the city; ſecured ſeveral of the Emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accuſed of having ſtolen or deſtroyed the record that contained a ratification of the privileges of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; choſe a council to which they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifications; and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their ſovereign [z]. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the for-

[y] Deſcrittione di tutti Paeſi Baſſi di Lud. Guicciardini. Ant. 1571. fol. p. 53.

[z] Memoires ſur la Revolte de Gantois en 1539, par Jean d'Hollander, ecrit en 1547. A la Haye, 1747. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xi. p. 262. Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. p. 282.

midable

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midable forces by which they might expect soon to be attacked, they sent some of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to put him in immediate possession of Ghent, but to assist him with all their forces in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands, which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been so lately re-united to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected proposition coming from persons who had it in their power to have performed instantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute so effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened great as well as alluring prospects to Francis's ambition. The counties of Flanders and Artois were of greater value than the dutchy of Milan, which he had so long laboured to acquire with passionate but fruitless desire; their situation with respect to France rendered it more easy to conquer or to defend them; and they might be formed into a separate principality for the Duke of Orleans, no less suitable to his dignity than that which his father aimed at obtaining. To this, the Flemings, who were acquainted with the French manners and government, would not have been averse; and his own subjects, weary of their destructive expeditions into Italy, would have turned their arms towards this quarter with more goodwill, and with greater vigour. Several considerations, nevertheless, prevented Francis from laying hold of this opportunity, the most favourable in

Francis declines their offer.

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obſtinacy with which their minds, ſlow but firm and perſevering, adhered to any meaſure on which they had deliberately reſolved. He eaſily ſaw what encouragement and ſupport they might have derived from the aſſiſtance of France; and though now free from any danger on that quarter, he was ſtill ſenſible that ſome immediate as well as vigorous interpoſition was neceſſary, in order to prevent the ſpirit of diſaffection from ſpreading in a country where the number of cities, the multitude of people, together with the great wealth diffuſed among them by commerce, rendered it peculiarly formidable, and would ſupply it with inexhauſtible reſources. No expedient, after long deliberation, appeared to him ſo effectual as his going in perſon to the Netherlands; and the governeſs his ſiſter being of the ſame opinion, warmly ſolicited him to undertake the journey. There were only two routes which he could take; one by land through Italy and Germany, the other entirely by ſea, from ſome port in Spain to one in the Low-Countries. But the former was more tedious than ſuited the preſent exigency of his affairs; nor could he in conſiſtency with his dignity, or even his ſafety, paſs through Germany without ſuch a train both of attendants and of troops, as would have added greatly to the time that he muſt have conſumed in his journey; the latter was dangerous at this ſeaſon, and while he remained uncertain with reſpect to the friendſhip of the King of England, was not to be ventured upon, unleſs under the con-

Charles's deliberations concerning his journey to the Netherlands.

voy

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voy of a powerful fleet. This perplexing ſituation, in which he was under the neceſſity of chuſing, and did not know what to chuſe, inſpired him at laſt with the ſingular and ſeemingly extravagant thought of paſſing through France, as the moſt expeditious way of reaching the Netherlands. He propoſed in his council to demand Francis's permiſſion for that purpoſe. All his counſellors joined with one voice in condemning the meaſure as no leſs raſh than unprecedented, and which muſt infallibly expoſe him to diſgrace or to danger; to diſgrace, if the demand were rejected in the manner that he had reaſon to expect; to danger, if he put his perſon in the power of an enemy whom he had often offended, who had ancient injuries to revenge, as well as ſubjects of preſent conteſt ſtill remaining undecided. But Charles, who had ſtudied the character of his rival with greater care and more profound diſcernment than any of his miniſters, perſiſted in his plan, and flattered himſelf that it might be accompliſhed not only without danger to his own perſon, but even without the expence of any conceſſion detrimental to his crown.

Propoſes to paſs through France.

With this view he communicated the matter to the French ambaſſador at his court, and ſent Granvelle his chief miniſter to Paris, in order to obtain from Francis permiſſion to paſs through his dominions, and to promiſe that he would ſoon ſettle the affair of the Milaneſe to his ſatisfaction. But at the ſame time he entreated that Francis

To which Francis conſents.

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would not exact any new promiſe, or even inſiſt on former engagements, at this juncture, leſt whatever he ſhould grant, under his preſent circumſtances, might ſeem rather to be extorted by neceſſity, than to flow from friendſhip or the love of juſtice. Francis, inſtead of attending to the ſnare which ſuch a ſlight artifice ſcarcely concealed, was ſo dazzled with the ſplendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generoſity, and ſo pleaſed with the air of ſuperiority which the rectitude and diſintereſtedneſs of his proceedings gave him on this occaſion, that he at once aſſented to all that was demanded. Judging of the Emperor's heart by his own, he imagined that the ſentiments of gratitude, ariſing from the remembrance of good offices and liberal treatment, would determine him more forcibly to fulfil what he had ſo often promiſed, than the moſt preciſe ſtipulations that could be inſerted in any treaty.

His reception in that kingdom.

UPON this, Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the fears and ſuſpicions of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſplendid train of about an hundred perſons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, attended by the conſtable Montmorency. The two Princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hoſtages for the Emperor's ſafety; but this he rejected, declaring, that he relied with implicit confidence on the King's honour, and had never demanded, nor would accept of any other pledge

pledge for his ſecurity. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the greateſt poſſible magnificence was diſplayed; the magiſtrates preſented him the keys of the gates; the priſon doors were ſet open; and, by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the ſovereign of the country than a foreign prince. The King advanced as far as Chatelherault to meet him; their interview was diſtinguiſhed by the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and preſented to the inhabitants of that city, the extraordinary ſpectacle of two rival Monarchs, whoſe enmity had diſturbed and laid waſte Europe during twenty years, making their ſolemn entry together with all the ſymptoms of a confidential harmony, as if they had forgotten for ever paſt injuries, and would not revive hoſtilities for the future [c].

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The Emperor's ſolicitude,

CHARLES remained ſix days at Paris; but amidſt the perpetual careſſes of the French court, and the various entertainments contrived to amuſe or to do him honour, he diſcovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, ariſing as much from an apprehenſion of danger which conſtantly haunted him, as from the neceſſity of his preſence in the Low-Countries. Conſcious of the diſingenuity of his own intentions, he trembled when he reflected that ſome fatal accident might betray them to his rival, or lead him to ſuſpect

[c] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 14. Mem. de Bellay, 264.

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them; and though his artifices to conceal them ſhould be ſucceſsful, he could not help fearing that motives of intereſt might at laſt triumph over the ſcruples of honour, and tempt Francis to avail himſelf of the advantage now in his hands. Nor were there wanting perſons among the French miniſters, who adviſed the King to turn his own arts againſt the Emperor, and as the retribution due for ſo many inſtances of fraud or falſehood, to ſeize and detain his perſon until he granted him full ſatisfaction with regard to all the juſt claims of the French crown. But no conſideration could induce Francis to violate the faith which he had pledged, nor could any argument convince him that Charles, after all the promiſes that he had given, and all the favours which he had received, might ſtill be capable of deceiving him. Full of this falſe confidence, he accompanied him to St. Quintin; and the two Princes, who had met him on the borders of Spain, did not take leave of him until he entered his dominions in the Low Countries.

and diſingenuity.

January 24.

As ſoon as the Emperor reached his own territories, the French ambaſſadors demanded the accompliſhment of what he had promiſed concerning the inveſtiture of Milan; but Charles, under the plauſible pretext that his whole attention was then engroſſed by the conſultations neceſſary towards ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Ghent, put off the matter for ſome time. But in order to prevent Francis from ſuſpecting his ſincerity, he

he ſtill continued to talk of his reſolutions with reſpect to that matter in the ſame ſtrain as when he entered France, and even wrote to the King much to the ſame purpoſe, though in general terms, and with equivocal expreſſions, which he might afterwards explain away or interpret at pleaſure[a]. 1540.

Reduction of Ghent;

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate citizens of Ghent, deſtitute of leaders capable either of directing their councils, or conducting their troops; abandoned by the French King, and unſupported by their countrymen; were unable to reſiſt their offended ſovereign, who was ready to advance againſt them with one body of troops which he had raiſed in the Netherlands, with another drawn out of Germany, and a third which had arrived from Spain by ſea. The near approach of danger made them, at laſt, ſo ſenſible of their own folly, that they ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor, imploring his mercy, and offering to ſet open their gates at his approach. Charles, without vouchſafing them any other anſwer, than that he would appear among them as their ſovereign, with the ſceptre and the ſword in his hand, began his march at the head of his troops. Though he choſe to enter the city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birth-day, he was touched with nothing of that tenderneſs or indulgence which was natural to-

[a] Memoires de Ribier, i. 504.

wards

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1540. and puniſhment of the citizens. April 20.

wards the place of his nativity. Twenty-ſix of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number was ſent into baniſhment; the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiſcated; its ancient form of government was aboliſhed; the nomination of its magiſtrates was veſted for the future in the Emperor and his ſucceſſors; a new ſyſtem of laws and political adminiſtration was preſcribed [b]; and in order to bridle the ſeditious ſpirit of the citizens, orders were given to erect a ſtrong citadel, for defraying the expence of which a fine of an hundred and fifty thouſand florins was impoſed on the inhabitants, together with an annual tax of ſix thouſand florins for the ſupport of the garriſon [c]. By theſe rigorous proceedings, Charles not only puniſhed the citizens of Ghent, but ſet an awful example of ſeverity before his other ſubjects in the Netherlands, whoſe immunities and privileges, partly the effect, partly the cauſe of their extenſive commerce, circumſcribed the prerogative of their Sovereign within very narrow bounds, and often ſtood in the way of meaſures which he wiſhed to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations.

Charles refuſes to fulfil his engagements to Francis,

CHARLES having thus vindicated and re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the Low-Countries, and

[b] Les Coutemes & Loix du Compté de Flandre, par Alex. le Grande, 3 tom. fol. Cambray, 1719, tom. i. p. 169.

[c] Haræi Annales Brabantiæ, vol. i. 616.

being

being now under no neceſſity of continuing the ſame ſcene of falſehood and diſſimulation with which he had long amuſed Francis, began gradually to throw aſide the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with reſpect to the Milaneſe. At firſt, he eluded the demands of the French ambaſſadors, when they again reminded him of his promiſes; then he propoſed, by way of equivalent for the dutchy of Milan, to grant the Duke of Orleans the inveſtiture of Flanders, clogging the offer, however, with impracticable conditions, or ſuch as he knew would be rejected[d]. At laſt, being driven from all his evaſions and ſubterfuges by their inſiſting for a categorical anſwer, he peremptorily refuſed to give up a territory of ſuch value, or voluntarily to make ſuch a liberal addition to the ſtrength of an enemy by diminiſhing his own power[e]. He denied, at the ſame time, that he had ever made any promiſe which could bind him to an action ſo fooliſh, and ſo contrary to his own intereſt[f].

Of all the tranſactions in the Emperor's life, this, without doubt, reflects the greateſt diſhonour on his reputation[g]. Though Charles was not extremely ſcrupulous at other times about the means which he employed for accompliſhing his ends, and was not always obſervant of the ſtrict pre-

[d] Mem. de Ribier, i. 509. 514. [e] Ribier, i. 519.
[f] Bellay, 365-6.
[g] Jovii Hiſt. lib. xxxix. p. 238. a.

cepts

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cepts of veracity and honour, he had hitherto maintained ſome regard for the maxims of that leſs preciſe and rigid morality by which Monarchs think themſelves entitled to regulate their conduct. But, on this occaſion, the ſcheme that he formed of deceiving a generous and open-hearted Prince; the illiberal and mean artifices by which he carried it on; the inſenſibility with which he received all the marks of his friendſhip, as well as the ingratitude with which he requited them; are all equally unbecoming the dignity of his character, and inconſiſtent with the grandeur of his views.

THIS tranſaction expoſed Francis to as much ſcorn as it did the Emperor to cenſure. After the experience of a long reign, after ſo many opportunities of diſcovering the duplicity and artifices of his rival, the credulous ſimplicity with which he truſted him at this juncture ſeemed to merit no other return than what it actually met with. Francis, however, remonſtrated and exclaimed, as if this had been the firſt inſtance in which the Emperor had deceived him. Feeling, as is uſual, the inſult which was offered to his underſtanding ſtill more ſenſibly than the injury done to his intereſt, he diſcovered ſuch reſentment, as made it obvious that he would lay hold on the firſt opportunity of being revenged, and that a war, no leſs rancorous than that which had ſo lately raged, would ſoon break out anew in Europe.

1540. The Pope authorizes the inſtitution of the Order of Jeſuits.

BUT ſingular as the tranſaction which has been related may appear, this year is rendered ſtill more memorable by the eſtabliſhment of the Order of Jeſuits; a body whoſe influence on eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs hath been ſo conſiderable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government juſtly merits a place in hiſtory. When men take a view of the rapid progreſs of this ſociety towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the perſevering and ſyſtematic ſpirit with which its ſchemes have been carried on; they are apt to aſcribe ſuch a ſingular inſtitution to the ſuperior wiſdom of its founder, and to ſuppoſe that he had formed and digeſted his plan with profound policy. But the Jeſuits, as well as the other monaſtic orders, are indebted for the exiſtence of their order not to the wiſdom of their founder, but to his enthuſiaſm. Ignatio Loyola, whom I have already mentioned on occaſion of the wound which he received in defending Pampeluna [h], was a fanatic diſtinguiſhed by extravagancies in ſentiment and conduct, no leſs incompatible with the maxims of ſober reaſon, than repugnant to the ſpirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and viſionary ſchemes, in which his enthuſiaſm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romiſh ſaints; but are unworthy of notice in hiſtory.

[h] Vol. ii. Book ii. p. 192.

PROMP-

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1540. Fanaticiſm of Loyola its founder.

PROMPTED by this fanatical ſpirit, or incited by the love of power and diſtinction, from which ſuch pretenders to ſuperior ſanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan, which he formed of its conſtitution and laws, was ſuggeſted, as he gave out, and as his followers ſtill teach, by the immediate inſpiration of heaven[i]. But notwithſtanding this high pretenſion, his deſign met at firſt with violent oppoſition. The Pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the ſanction of his authority to confirm the inſtitution, referred his petition to a committee of Cardinals. They repreſented the eſtabliſhment to be unneceſſary as well as dangerous, and Paul refuſed to grant his approbation of it. At laſt, Loyola removed all his ſcruples by an offer which it was impoſſible for any Pope to reſiſt. He propoſed that beſides the three vows of poverty, of chaſtity, and of monaſtic obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his ſociety ſhould take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themſelves to go whitherſoever he ſhould command for the ſervice of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their ſupport. At a time when the papal authority had received ſuch a ſhock by the revolt of ſo many nations from the Romiſh church; at a time when every part of the popiſh ſyſtem was attacked with ſo much violence and

The Pope's motives for confirming the order.

[i] Compte rendu des Conſtitutions des Jeſuits, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar, p. 285.

ſucceſs,

1540.

ſucceſs, the acquiſition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might ſet in oppoſition to all its enemies, was an object of the higheſt conſequence. Paul, inſtantly perceiving this, confirmed the inſtitution of the Jeſuits by his bull; granted the moſt ample privileges to the members of the ſociety; and appointed Loyola to be the firſt general of the order. The event hath fully juſtified Paul's diſcernment, in expecting ſuch beneficial conſequences to the See of Rome from this inſtitution. In leſs than half a century, the ſociety obtained eſtabliſhments in every country that adhered to the Roman catholic church; its power and wealth increaſed amazingly; the number of its members became great; their character as well as accompliſhments were ſtill greater; and the Jeſuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies, of the Romiſh faith, as the moſt able and enterprizing order in the church.

Sept. 27.

Its conſtitution and genius merit particular attention.

THE conſtitution and laws of the ſociety were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who ſucceeded Loyola, men far ſuperior to their maſter in abilities, and in the ſcience of government. They framed that ſyſtem of profound and artful policy which diſtinguiſhes the order. The large infuſion of fanaticiſm, mingled with its regulations, ſhould be imputed to Loyola its founder. Many circumſtances concurred in giving a peculiarity of character to the order of Jeſuits, and in forming the members of it not only to take

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take a greater part in the affairs of the world than any other body of monks, but to acquire ſuperior influence in the conduct of them.

The object of the order ſingular.

THE primary object of almoſt all the monaſtic orders is to ſeparate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the ſolitude and ſilence of the cloiſter, the monk is called to work out his own ſalvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its tranſactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jeſuits are taught to conſider themſelves as formed for action. They are choſen ſoldiers, bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to inſtruct the ignorant; whatever can be of uſe to reclaim or to oppoſe the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leiſure for this active ſervice, they are totally exempted from thoſe functions, the performance of which is the chief buſineſs of other monks. They appear in no proceſſions; they practiſe no rigorous auſterities; they do not conſume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices[k]. But they are required to attend to all the tranſactions of the world, on account of the influence which theſe may have upon religion; they are directed to

[k] Compte rendu, par M. de Monclar, p. xiii. 290. Sur la Deſtruct. des Jeſuites, par M. D'Alembert, p. 42.

ſtudy

ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendſhip[1]; and by the very conſtitution, as well as genius of the order, a ſpirit of action and intrigue is infuſed into all its members.

Peculiarities in the form of its policy, particularly with reſpect to the power of the general.

As the object of the ſociety of Jeſuits differed from that of the other monaſtic orders, the diverſity was no leſs in the form of its government. The other orders are to be conſidered as voluntary aſſociations, in which whatever affects the whole body, is regulated by the common ſuffrage of all its members. The executive power is veſted in the perſons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole ſociety; the legiſlative authority reſides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; ſuch as reſpect the whole order are conſidered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profeſſion, appointed that the government of his order ſhould be purely monarchical. A General, choſen for life by deputies from the ſeveral provinces, poſſeſſed power that was ſupreme and independent, extending to every perſon, and to every caſe. He, by his ſole authority, nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the ſociety, and could remove them at pleaſure. In him was veſted the

[1] Compte par M. de Monclar, p. 12.

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ſovereign adminiſtration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his diſpoſal; and by his uncontrolable mandate, he could impoſe on them any taſk, or employ them in what ſervice ſoever he pleaſed. To his commands they were required not only to yield outward obedience, but to reſign up to him the inclinations of their own wills, and the ſentiments of their own underſtandings. They were to liſten to his injunctions, as if they had been uttered by Chriſt himſelf. Under his direction, they were to be mere paſſive inſtruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcaſes incapable of reſiſtance[m]. Such a ſingular form of policy could not fail to impreſs its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of ſuch a perfect deſpotiſm, exerciſed not over monks ſhut up in the cells of a convent, but over men diſperſed among all the nations of the earth.

Circumſtances which enable him to exerciſe it with the greateſt advantage.

As the conſtitutions of the order veſt, in the General, ſuch abſolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with reſpect to the character and abilities of his ſubjects. Every novice who offers himſelf as a candidate for entering into the order, is oblig-

[m] Compte rendu au Parlem. de Bretagne, par M. de Chalotais, p. 41, &c. Compte par M. de Monclar, 83. 185. 343.

ed

ed to *manifeſt his conſcience* to the ſuperior, or to a perſon appointed by him; and in doing this is required to confeſs not only his ſins and defects, but to diſcover the inclinations, the paſſions, and the bent of his ſoul. This manifeſtation muſt be renewed every ſix months [n]. The ſociety, not ſatisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermoſt receſſes of the heart, directs each member to obſerve the words and actions of the novices; they are conſtituted ſpies upon their conduct; and are bound to diſcloſe every thing of importance concerning them to the ſuperior. In order that this ſcrutiny into their character may be as complete as poſſible, a long noviciate muſt expire, during which they paſs through the ſeveral gradations of ranks in the ſociety, and they muſt have attained the full age of thirty-three years before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *profeſſed* members [o]. By theſe various methods, the ſuperiors, under whoſe immediate inſpection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their diſpoſitions and talents. In order that the General, who is the ſoul that animates and moves the whole ſociety, may have under his eye every thing neceſſary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the ſeveral houſes are obliged to tranſmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inſpec-

[n] Compte par M. de Monclar, p. 121, &c.

[o] Compte par M. de Moncl. 215. 241. Sur la Deſtr. des Jeſ. par M. d'Alemb. p. 39.

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tion. In these they descend into minute details with respect to the character of each person, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is best fitted [P]. These reports, when digested and arranged, are entered into registers kept on purpose that the General may, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth; observe the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus choose, with perfect information, the instruments, which his absolute power can employ

[P] M. de Chalotais has made a calculation of the number of these reports, which the General of the Jesuits must annually receive according to the regulations of the society. These amount in all to 6584. If this sum be divided by 37, the number of provinces in the order, it will appear that 177 reports concerning the state of each province are transmitted to Rome annually. Compte, p. 52. Besides this, there may be extraordinary letters, or such as are sent by the monitors or spies whom the General and Provincials entertain in each house. Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 431. Hist. des Jesuites, Amst. 1761, tom. iv. p. 56. The provincials and heads of houses not only report concerning the members of the society, but are bound to give the General an account of the civil affairs in the country wherein they are settled, as far as their knowledge of these may be of benefit to religion. This condition may extend to every particular, so that the General is furnished with full information concerning the transactions of every Prince and State in the world. Compte par M. de Moncl. 443. Hist. des Jesuit. ibid. p. 58. When the affairs with respect to which the provincials or rectors write are of importance, they are directed to use cyphers; and each of them has a particular cypher from the General. Compte par M. Chalotais, p. 54.

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in any ſervice for which he thinks meet to deſtine them [q].

Progreſs of the power and influence of the order.

As it was the profeſſed intention of the order of Jeſuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the ſalvation of men, this engaged them, of courſe, in many active functions. From their firſt inſtitution, they conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors; they preached frequently in order to inſtruct the people; they ſet out as miſſionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the ſociety had the addreſs to avail themſelves of every circumſtance in its favour, and in a ſhort time the number as well as influence of its members increaſed wonderfully. Before the expiration of the ſixteenth century, the Jeſuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confeſſors of almoſt all its monarchs, a function of no ſmall importance in any reign, but under a weak Prince, ſuperior even to that of miniſter. They were the ſpiritual guides of almoſt every perſon eminent for rank or power. They poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt

[q] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215. 439.—Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52. 222.

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zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprising body of men might derive from all these circumstances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an ascendant over them in their advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The General, by means of the extensive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the most perfect discernment, and by means of his absolute power could carry them on with the utmost vigour and effect[r].

Progress of its wealth.

TOGETHER with the power of the order, its wealth continued to increase. Various expedients were devised for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample possessions in every Catholic country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its public buildings, together with the value of its property,

[r] When Loyola, in the year 1540, petitioned the Pope to authorize the institution of the order, he had only ten disciples. But in the year 1608, sixty-eight years after their first institution, the number of Jesuits had increased to ten thousand five hundred and eighty-one. In the year 1710, the order possessed twenty-four *professed* houses; fifty-nine houses of probation; three hundred and forty residencies; six hundred and twelve colleges; two hundred missions; one hundred and fifty seminaries and boarding-schools; and consisted of 19,998 Jesuits. Hist. des Jesuites, tom. i. p. 20.

moveable

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moveable or real, it vied with the moſt opulent of the monaſtic fraternities. Beſides the ſources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jeſuits poſſeſſed one which was peculiar to themſelves. Under pretext of promoting the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and of facilitating the ſupport of their miſſionaries, they obtained a ſpecial licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In conſequence of this, they engaged in an extenſive and lucrative commerce, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. They opened warehouſes in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not ſatisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial ſocieties, and aimed at obtaining ſettlements. They acquired poſſeſſion accordingly of a large and fertile province in the ſouthern continent of America, and reigned as ſovereigns over ſome hundred thouſand ſubjects [s].

Pernicious effects of theſe on civil ſociety.

UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vaſt influence which the order of Jeſuits acquired by all theſe different means, has been often exerted with the moſt pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that diſcipline obſerved by the ſociety in forming its members, and ſuch the fundamental maxims in its conſtitution, that every Jeſuit was taught to regard the intereſt of the order as the capital object, to which every conſideration was to be ſacri-

[s] Hiſt. des Jeſ. iv. 168—196, &c.

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ficed. This ſpirit of attachment to their order, the moſt ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men [t], is the characteriſtic principle of the Jeſuits, and ſerves as a key to the genius of their policy, as well as to the peculiarities in their ſentiments and conduct.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the ſociety, that its members ſhould poſſeſs an aſcendant over perſons in high rank or of great power, the deſire of acquiring and preſerving ſuch a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the Jeſuits to propagate a ſyſtem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itſelf to the paſſions of men, which juſtifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almoſt every action that the moſt audacious or crafty politician would wiſh to perpetrate.

As the proſperity of the order was intimately connected with the preſervation of the papal authority, the Jeſuits, influenced by the ſame principle of attachment to the intereſts of their ſociety, have been the moſt zealous patrons of thoſe doctrines, which tend to exalt eccleſiaſtical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a juriſdiction as extenſive and abſolute as was claimed by the moſt preſumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They

[t] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 285.

have

have contended for the entire independence of ecclesiastics on the civil magistrate. They have published such tenets concerning the duty of opposing Princes who were enemies of the Catholic faith, as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties which connect subjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish church against the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this distinction, have considered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. They have made use of every art, and have employed every weapon against them. They have set themselves in opposition to every gentle or tolerating measure in their favour. They have incessantly stirred up against them all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution.

Monks of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the same pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconsistent with the order and happiness of civil society. But they, from reasons which are obvious, have either delivered such opinions with greater reserve, or have propagated them with less success. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that the Jesuits

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Jeſuits may juſtly be conſidered as reſponſible for moſt of the pernicious effects ariſing from that corrupt and dangerous caſuiſtry, from thoſe extravagant tenets concerning eccleſiaſtical power, and from that intolerant ſpirit, which have been the diſgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought ſo many calamities upon civil ſociety [u].

Some advantages reſulting from the inſtitution of this order.

But amidſt many bad conſequences flowing from the inſtitution of this order, mankind, it muſt be acknowledged, have derived from it ſome conſiderable advantages. As the Jeſuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their firſt attempts to eſtabliſh colleges for the reception of ſtudents were violently oppoſed by the univerſities in different countries, it became neceſſary for them, as the moſt effectual method of acquiring the public favour, to ſurpaſs their rivals in ſcience and induſtry. This prompted them to cultivate the ſtudy of ancient literature with extraordinary ardour. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the inſtruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed ſo much towards the progreſs of polite learning, that on this account they have merited well of ſociety. Nor has the order of Jeſuits been ſucceſsful only in teaching the elements

Particularly to literature.

[u] Encyclopedie, art. *Jeſuites*, tom. viii. 513.

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of literature; it has produced likewiſe eminent maſters in many branches of ſcience, and can alone boaſt of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together [x].

More eſpecially from the ſettlement of the Jeſuits in Paraguay.

But it is in the new world that the Jeſuits have exhibited the moſt wonderful diſplay of their abilities, and have contributed moſt effectually to the benefit of the human ſpecies. The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe acted at firſt as if they had nothing in view, but to plunder, to

[x] M. d'Alembert has obſerved, that though the Jeſuits have made extraordinary progreſs in erudition of every ſpecies; though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquaries, and critics; though they have even formed ſome orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whoſe mind was ſo much enlightened with ſound knowledge, as to merit the name of a philoſopher. But it ſeems to be the unavoidable effect of monaſtic education to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the intereſt of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens; the habit of implicit obedience to the will of a ſuperior, together with the frequent return of the weariſome and frivolous duties of the cloiſter, debaſe his faculties, and extinguiſh that generoſity of ſentiment and ſpirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling juſtly with reſpect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only perſon educated in a cloiſter, that ever was altogether ſuperior to its prejudices, or who viewed the tranſactions of men, and reaſoned concerning the intereſts of ſociety, with the enlarged ſentiments of a philoſopher, with the diſcernment of a man converſant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

enſlave,

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enſlave, and to exterminate its inhabitants. The Jeſuits alone made humanity the object of their ſettling there. About the beginning of the laſt century they obtained admiſſion into the fertile province of Paraguay, which ſtretches acroſs the ſouthern continent of America, from the eaſt ſide of the immenſe ridge of the Andes, to the confines of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſettlements on the banks of the river de la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a ſtate little different from that which takes place among men when they firſt begin to unite together; ſtrangers to the arts; ſubſiſting precariouſly by hunting or fiſhing; and hardly acquainted with the firſt principles of ſubordination and government. The Jeſuits ſet themſelves to inſtruct and to civilize theſe ſavages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houſes. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taſte the ſweets of ſociety; and accuſtomed them to the bleſſings of ſecurity and order. Theſe people became the ſubjects of their benefactors; who have governed them with a tender attention, reſembling that with which a father directs his children. Reſpected and beloved almoſt to adoration, a few Jeſuits preſided over ſome hundred thouſand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour not for himſelf alone, but for the public. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits

fruits of their induſtry of every ſpecies, were depoſited in common ſtorehouſes, from which each individual received every thing neceſſary for the ſupply of his wants. By this inſtitution, almoſt all the paſſions which diſturb the peace of ſociety, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguiſhed. A few magiſtrates, choſen from among their countrymen, by the Indians themſelves, watched over the public tranquillity, and ſecured obedience to the laws. The ſanguinary puniſhments frequent under other governments were unknown. An admonition from a Jeſuit; a ſlight mark of infamy; or, on ſome ſingular occaſion, a few laſhes with a whip, were ſufficient to maintain good order among theſe innocent and happy people[y].

Even here the ambition and policy of the order diſcernible.

But even in this meritorious effort of the Jeſuits for the good of mankind, the genius and ſpirit of their order have mingled and are diſcernible. They plainly aimed at eſtabliſhing in Paraguay an independent empire, ſubject to the ſociety alone, and which, by the ſuperior excellence of its conſtitution and police, could ſcarcely have failed to extend its dominion over all the ſouthern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portugueſe in the adjacent ſettlements, from acquiring any dangerous influence over the people within the

[y] Hiſt. du Paraguay par Pere de Charlevoix, tom. ii. 42, &c. Voyage au Perou par Don G. Juan & D. Ant. de Ulloa, tom. i. 540, &c. Par. 4to. 1752.

limits

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limits of the province ſubject to the ſociety, the Jeſuits endeavoured to inſpire the Indians with hatred and contempt of theſe nations. They cut off all intercourſe between their ſubjects and the Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſettlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from entering their territories. When they were obliged to admit any perſon in a public character from the neighbouring governments, they did not permit him to have any converſation with their ſubjects, and no Indian was allowed even to enter the houſe where theſe ſtrangers reſided, unleſs in the preſence of a Jeſuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as poſſible, they induſtriouſly avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spaniſh, or of any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the univerſal language throughout their dominions. As all theſe precautions, without military force, would have been inſufficient to have rendered their empire ſecure and permanent, they inſtructed their ſubjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly diſciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines ſtored with all the implements of war. Thus they eſtabliſhed an army ſo numerous and well-appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few ſickly and ill-diſciplined battalions compoſed all the military

military force kept on foot by the Spaniards or Portugueſe [z].

Reaſon for giving ſo full a view of the government and progreſs of the order.

THE Jeſuits gained no conſiderable degree of power during the reign of Charles V. who, with his uſual ſagacity, diſcerned the dangerous tendency of the inſtitution, and checked its progreſs [a]. But as the order was founded in the period of which I write the hiſtory, and as the age to which I addreſs this work hath ſeen its fall, the view which I have exhibited of the laws and genius of this formidable body will not, I hope, be unacceptable to my readers; eſpecially as one circumſtance has enabled me to enter into this detail with particular advantage. Europe had obſerved, for two centuries, the ambition and power of the order. But while it felt many fatal effects of theſe, it could not fully diſcern the cauſes to which they were to be imputed. It was unacquainted with many of the ſingular regulations in the political conſtitution or government of the Jeſuits, which formed the enterpriſing ſpirit of intrigue that diſtinguiſhed its members, and elevated the body itſelf to ſuch a height of power. It was a fundamental maxim with the Jeſuits, from their firſt inſtitution, not to publiſh the rules of their order. Theſe they kept concealed as an impenetrable myſtery. They never communi-

[z] Voyage de Juan & de Ulloa, tom. i. 549. Recueil des toutes les Pieces qui ont paru ſur les Affaires des Jeſuites en Portugal, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

[a] Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 312,

cated

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cated them to ſtrangers; nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refuſed to produce them when required by courts of juſtice[b]; and by a ſtrange ſoleciſm in policy, the civil power in different countries authoriſed or connived at the eſtabliſhment of an order of men, whoſe conſtitution and laws were concealed with a ſolicitude, which alone was a good reaſon for excluding them. During the proſecutions lately carried on againſt them in Portugal and France, the Jeſuits have been ſo inconſiderate as to produce the myſterious volumes of their inſtitute. By the aid of theſe authentic records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the ſources of their power inveſtigated with a degree of certainty and preciſion, which, previous to that event, it was impoſſible to attain[c]. But as I have pointed out the dangerous tendency of the conſtitution and ſpirit of the order with the freedom becoming an hiſtorian, the candour and impartiality no leſs requiſite in that

[b] Hiſt. des Jeſ. tom. iii. 236, &c. Compte par. M. de Chalot. p. 38.

[c] The greater part of my information concerning the government and laws of the order of Jeſuits, I have derived from the reports of M. de Chalotais and M. de Monclar. I reſt not my narrative, however, upon the authority even of theſe reſpectable magiſtrates and elegant writers, but upon innumerable paſſages which they have extracted from the conſtitutions of the order, depoſited in their hands. Hoſpinian, a Proteſtant Divine of Zurich, in his *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica*, printed A. D. 1619, publiſhed a ſmall part of the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits, of which by ſome accident he had got a copy; p. 13—54.

character

character call on me to add one obſervation, That no claſs of regular clergy in the Romiſh church has been more eminent for decency, and even purity of manners, than the major part of the order of Jeſuits [d]. The maxims of an intriguing, ambitious, intereſted policy, might influence thoſe who governed the ſociety, and might even corrupt the heart, and pervert the conduct of ſome individuals, while the greater number, engaged in literary purſuits, or employed in the functions of religion, was left to the guidance of thoſe common principles which reſtrain men from vice, and excite them to what is becoming and laudable. The cauſes which occaſioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumſtances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent obſerver of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this hiſtory.

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Affairs of Germany.

No ſooner had Charles re-eſtabliſhed order in the Low-Countries, than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs in Germany. The Proteſtants preſſed him earneſtly to appoint that conference between a ſelect number of the divines of each party, which had been ſtipulated in the convention at Francfort. The Pope conſidered ſuch an attempt to examine into the points in diſpute, or to decide concerning them, as derogatory to his

[d] Sur la Deſtruct. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alembert, p. 55.

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right of being the ſupreme judge in controverſy; and being convinced that ſuch a conference would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, he employed every art to prevent it. The Emperor, however, finding it more for his intereſt to ſooth the Germans than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonſtrances. In a diet held at Haguenaw, matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet aſſembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one ſide and Eckius on the other, ſuſtaining the principal part in the diſpute; but after they had made ſome progreſs, though without concluding any thing, it was ſuſpended by the Emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater ſolemnity in his own preſence in a diet ſummoned to meet at Ratiſbon.

A conference between the Popiſh and Proteſtant divines, June 25. Dec. 6.

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This aſſembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and deciſive. By the conſent of both parties, the Emperor was entruſted with the power of nominating the perſons who ſhould manage the conference, which it was agreed ſhould be conducted not in the form of a public diſputation, but as a friendly ſcrutiny or examination into the articles which had given riſe to the preſent controverſies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper, and Pflug, on the part of the Catholics; Melancthon, Bucer, and Piſtorius, on that of the Proteſtants; all men of diſtinguiſhed reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for moderation, as well as deſirous of peace.

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peace. As they were about to begin their conſultations, the Emperor put into their hands a book, compoſed, as he ſaid, by a learned divine in the Low-Countries, with ſuch extraordinary perſpicuity and temper, as, in his opinion, might go far to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of addreſs as well as of erudition, was afterwards ſuſpected to be the author of this ſhort treatiſe. It contained poſitions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included moſt of the queſtions then agitated in the controverſy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his ſentiments in a natural order, and expreſſing them with great ſimplicity; by employing often the very words of ſcripture, or of the primitive fathers; by ſoftening the rigour of ſome opinions, and explaining away what was abſurd in others; by conceſſions, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; and eſpecially by baniſhing as much as poſſible ſcholaſtic phraſes, thoſe words and terms of art in controverſey, which ſerve as badges of diſtinction to different ſects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themſelves; he at laſt framed his work in ſuch a manner, as promiſed fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted to compoſe and to terminate religious diſſentions [e].

[e] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. ii. p. 182.

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But the attention of the age was turned, with ſuch acute obſervation, towards theological controverſies, that it was not eaſy to impoſe on it by any gloſs, how artful or ſpecious ſoever. The length and eagerneſs of the diſpute had ſeparated the contending parties ſo completely, and had ſet their minds at ſuch variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial conceſſions. All the zealous Catholics, particularly the eccleſiaſtics who had a ſeat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatiſe as too favourable to the Lutheran opinion, the poiſon of which hereſy it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger, becauſe it was in ſome degree diſguiſed. The rigid Proteſtants, eſpecially Luther himſelf, and his patron the Elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impoſe on the weak, the timid, and the unthinking. But the divines, to whom the examination of it was committed, entered upon that buſineſs with greater deliberation and temper. As it was more eaſy in itſelf, as well as more conſiſtent with the dignity of the church, to make conceſſions, and even alterations with regard to ſpeculative opinions, the diſcuſſion whereof is confined chiefly to ſchools, and which preſent nothing to the people that either ſtrikes their imagination or affects their ſenſes, they came to an accommodation about theſe without much labour, and even defined the great article concerning juſtification to their mutual ſatisfaction. But, when they proceeded to points

points of juriſdiction, where the intereſt and authority of the Roman See were concerned, or to the rites and forms of external worſhip, where every change that could be made muſt be public, and draw the obſervation of the people, there the Catholics were altogether untractable; nor could the church either with ſafety or with honour aboliſh its ancient inſtitutions. All the articles relative to the power of the Pope, the authority of councils, the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the worſhip of ſaints, and many other particulars, did not, in their nature, admit of any temperament; ſo that after labouring long to bring about an accommodation with reſpect to theſe, the Emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual. Being impatient, however, to cloſe the diet, he at laſt prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following receſs; "That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed in the conference, ſhould be held as points decided, and be obſerved inviolably by all; that the other articles about which they had differed, ſhould be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a national ſynod of Germany; and if it ſhould prove impracticable, likewiſe, to aſſemble a ſynod, that a general diet of the Empire ſhould be called within eighteen months, in order to give ſome final judgment upon the whole controverſy; that the Emperor ſhould uſe all his intereſt and authority with the Pope, to procure the meeting either

Receſs of the diet of Ratiſbon in favour of a general council, July 28.

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either of a general council or ſynod; that, in the mean time, no innovations ſhould be attempted, no endeavours ſhould be employed to gain proſelytes; and neither the revenues of the church, nor the rights of monaſteries, ſhould be invaded[f].

gives offence both to Papiſts and Proteſtants.

ALL the proceedings of this diet, as well as the receſs in which they terminated, gave great offence to the Pope. The power which the Germans had aſſumed of appointing their own divines to examine and determine matters of controverſy, he conſidered as a very dangerous invaſion of his rights; the renewing of their ancient propoſal concerning a national ſynod, which had been ſo often rejected by him and his predeceſſors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, compoſed chiefly of laymen, to paſs judgment with reſpect to articles of faith, was deemed no leſs criminal and profane, than the worſt of thoſe hereſies which they ſeemed zealous to ſuppreſs. On the other hand, the Proteſtants were no leſs diſſatisfied with a receſs, that conſiderably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly againſt it, Charles, unwilling to leave any ſeeds of diſcontent in the Empire, granted them a private declaration in the moſt ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought op-

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

[f] Sleidan, 267, &c. Pallav. l. iv. c. 11. p. 136. F. Paul, p. 86. Seckend. l. iii. 256.

preſſive

preſſive or injurious in the receſs, and aſcertaining to them the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed [g].

Affairs of Hungary.

EXTRAORDINARY as theſe conceſſions may appear, the ſituation of the Emperor's affairs at this juncture made it neceſſary for him to grant them. He foreſaw a rupture with France to be not only unavoidable, but near at hand, and durſt not give any ſuch cauſe of diſguſt or fear to the Proteſtants, as might force them, in ſelf-defence, to court the protection of the French King, from whom, at preſent, they were much alienated. The rapid progreſs of the Turks in Hungary, was a more powerful and urgent motive to that moderation which Charles diſcovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom; John Zapol Scæpus having choſen, as has been related, rather to poſſeſs a tributary kingdom, than to renounce the royal dignity to which he had been accuſtomed, had, by the aſſiſtance of his mighty protector Solyman, wreſted from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious poſſeſſion of the reſt. But being a prince of pacific qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partiſans among the Hungarians, to recover what they had loſt, greatly diſquieted him; and the neceſſity on theſe occaſions, of calling in the Turks, whom he conſidered

[g] Sleid. 283. Seckend. 366. Dumont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. p. 210.

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and felt to be his maſters rather than auxiliaries, was hardly leſs mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid theſe diſtreſſes, as well as to ſecure quiet and leiſure for cultivating the arts and enjoying amuſements in which he delighted, he ſecretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition; That Ferdinand ſhould acknowledge him as King of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of that part of the kingdom now in his power; but that, upon his demiſe, the ſole right of the whole ſhould devolve upon Ferdinand [h]. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract ſeemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But, ſoon after, ſome of the Hungarian nobles, ſolicitous to prevent a foreigner from aſcending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to a long celibacy, by marrying Iſabella, the daughter of Sigiſmond King of Poland. John had the ſatisfaction, before his death, which happened within leſs than a year after his marriage, to ſee a ſon born to inherit his kingdom. To him, without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, which he conſidered, no doubt, as void, upon an event not foreſeen when it was concluded, he bequeathed his crown; appointing the Queen and George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, guardians of his ſon, and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young Prince as King, to whom, in

Death of the King of Hungary.

[g] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xii. p. 135.

memory

memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen [i].

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Ferdinand's efforts to obtain the crown.

FERDINAND, though extremely disconcerted by this unexpected event, resolved not to abandon the kingdom which he flattered himself with having acquired by his compact with John. He sent ambassadors to the Queen to claim possession, and to offer the province of Transylvania as a settlement for her son, preparing at the same time to assert his right by force of arms. But John had committed the care of his son to persons, who had too much spirit to give up the crown tamely, and who possessed abilities sufficient to defend it. The Queen, to all the address peculiar to her own sex, added a masculine courage, ambition, and magnanimity.

Character and power of Martinuzzi.

Martinuzzi, who had raised himself from the lowest rank in life to his present dignity, was one of those extraordinary men, who, by the extent as well as variety of their talents, are fitted to act a superior part in bustling and factious times. In discharging the functions of his ecclesiastical office, he put on the semblance of an humble and austere sanctity. In civil transactions, he discovered industry, dexterity, and boldness. During war he laid aside the cassock, and appeared on horseback with his scymitar and buckler, as active, as ostentatious, and as gallant as any of his countrymen. Amidst all these different and contradictory forms which he could assume, an insa-

[i] Jovii Hist. lib. xxxix. p. 239, a. &c.

tiable

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tiable desire of dominion and authority was conspicuous. From such persons it was obvious what answer Ferdinand had to expect. He soon perceived that he must depend on arms alone for recovering Hungary. Having levied for this purpose a considerable body of Germans, whom his partisans among the Hungarians joined with their vassals, he ordered them to march into that part of the kingdom which adhered to Stephen. Martinuzzi, unable to make head against such a powerful army in the field, satisfied himself with holding out the towns, all of which, especially Buda, the place of greatest consequence, he provided with every thing necessary for defence; and in the mean time he sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend towards the son, the same Imperial protection which had so long maintained the father on his throne. The Sultan, though Ferdinand used his utmost endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even offered to accept of the Hungarian crown on the same ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John had held it, saw such prospects of advantage from espousing the interest of the young King, that he instantly promised him his protection; and commanding one army to advance forthwith towards Hungary, he himself followed with another. Meanwhile the Germans, hoping to terminate the war by the reduction of a city in which the King and his mother were shut up, had formed the siege of Buda. Martinuzzi, having drawn thither the strength of the

Calls in the Turks.

the Hungarian nobility, defended the town with such courage and ſkill, as allowed the Turkiſh forces time to come up to its relief. They inſtantly attacked the Germans, weakened by fatigue, diſeaſes, and deſertion, and defeated them with great ſlaughter [k]. 1541.

Solyman's ungenerous conduct.

Solyman ſoon after joined his victorious troops, and being weary of ſo many expenſive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, or being unable to reſiſt this alluring opportunity of ſeizing a kingdom, while poſſeſſed by an infant, under the guardianſhip of a woman and a prieſt, he allowed intereſted conſiderations to triumph with too much facility over the principles of honour and the ſentiments of humanity. What he planned ungenerouſly, he executed by fraud. Having prevailed on the Queen to ſend her ſon, whom he pretended to be deſirous of ſeeing, into his camp, and having, at the ſame time, invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there, while they, ſuſpecting no treachery, gave themſelves up to the mirth and jollity of the feaſt, a ſelect band of troops by the Sultan's orders ſeized one of the gates of Buda. Being thus maſter of the capital, of the King's perſon, and of the leading men among the nobles, he gave orders to conduct the Queen, together with her ſon, to Tranſylvania, which province he allotted to them, and appointing a

[k] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 150.

Baſha

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Baſha to preſide in Buda with a large body of ſoldiers, annexed Hungary to the Ottoman empire. The tears and complaints of the unhappy Queen had no influence to change his purpoſe, nor could Martinuzzi either reſiſt his abſolute and uncontroulable command, or prevail on him to recall it [l].

Ferdinand's overtures to Solyman.

BEFORE the account of this violent uſurpation reached Ferdinand, he was ſo unlucky as to have diſpatched other ambaſſadors to Solyman with a freſh repreſentation of his right to the crown of Hungary, as well as a renewal of his former overture to hold the kingdom of the Ottoman Porte, and to pay for it an annual tribute. This ill-timed propoſal was rejected with ſcorn. The Sultan, elated with ſucceſs, and thinking that he might preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to a Prince who voluntarily proffered conditions ſo unbecoming his own dignity, declared that he would not ſuſpend the operations of war, unleſs Ferdinand inſtantly evacuated all the towns which he ſtill held in Hungary, and conſented to the impoſition of a tribute upon Auſtria, in order to reimburſe the ſums which his preſumptuous invaſion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom [m].

[l] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 56. Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxix. p. 2476, &c.

[m] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 158.

IN

In this ſtate were the affairs of Hungary. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the diſſolution of the diet at Ratiſbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles ſaw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans, while a formidable enemy was ready to break into the Empire; and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous aſſiſtance either towards the recovery of Hungary, or the defence of the Auſtrian frontier, unleſs he courted and ſatisfied the Proteſtants. By the conceſſions which have been mentioned, he gained this point, and ſuch liberal ſupplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war againſt the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the ſecurity of Germany during next campaign[n].

Emperor viſits Italy.

Immediately upon the concluſion of the diet, the Emperor ſet out for Italy. As he paſſed through Lucca he had a ſhort interview with the Pope; but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of compoſing the religious diſputes in Germany, between two Princes, whoſe views and intereſt with regard to that matter were at this juncture ſo oppoſite. The Pope's endeavours to remove the cauſes of diſcord between Charles and Francis, and to extinguiſh thoſe mutual animoſities which threatened to break out ſuddenly into open hoſtility, were not more ſucceſsful.

[n] Sleid. 283.

The

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1541. His expedition againſt Algiers, and motives of it.

THE Emperor's thoughts were bent ſo entirely, at that time, on the great enterprize which he had concerted againſt Algiers, that he liſtened with little attention to the Pope's ſchemes or overtures, and haſtened to join his army and fleet [o].

ALGIERS ſtill continued in that ſtate of dependence on the Turkiſh empire to which Barbaroſſa had ſubjected it. Ever ſince he, as Captain Baſha, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Haſcen-Aga, a renegado eunuch, who, by paſſing through every ſtation in the Corſair's ſervice, had acquired ſuch experience in war, that he was well fitted for a ſtation which required a man of tried and daring courage. Haſcen, in order to ſhew how well he deſerved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations againſt the Chriſtian States with amazing activity, and outdid, if poſſible, Barbaroſſa himſelf in boldneſs and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruiſers, and ſuch frequent alarms given to the coaſt of Spain, that there was a neceſſity of erecting watch-towers at proper diſtances, and of keeping guards conſtantly on foot, in order to deſcry the approach of his ſquadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their deſcents [p]. Of this the Emperor had received repeated and clamorous complaints from his ſubjects, who repreſented it as an enterpriſe correſponding to

[o] Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. 298.

[p] Jovii Hiſt. l. xl. p. 266.

his

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his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, ſince the conqueſt of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the free-booters; and to exterminate that lawleſs race, the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian name. Moved partly by their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his laſt expedition into Africa, Charles, before he left Madrid, in his way to the Low-Countries, had iſſued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for this purpoſe. No change in circumſtances, ſince that time, could divert him from this reſolution, or prevail on him to turn his arms towards Hungary; though the ſucceſs of the Turks in that country ſeemed more immediately to require his preſence there; though many of his moſt faithful adherents in Germany urged that the defence of the Empire ought to be his firſt and peculiar care; though ſuch as bore him no good-will ridiculed his prepoſterous conduct in flying from an enemy almoſt at hand, that he might go in queſt of a remote and more ignoble foe. But to attack the Sultan in Hungary, how ſplendid ſoever that meaſure might appear, was an undertaking which exceeded his power, and was not conſiſtent with his intereſt. To draw troops out of Spain or Italy, to march them into a country ſo diſtant as Hungary, to provide the vaſt apparatus neceſſary for tranſporting thither the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of a regular army, and to puſh the war in that quarter, where there was little proſpect of bringing it to an iſſue during ſeveral

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campaigns, were undertakings ſo expenſive and unwieldy as did not correſpond with the low condition of the Emperor's treaſury. While his principal force was thus employed, his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries muſt have lain open to the French King, who would not have allowed ſuch a favourable opportunity of attacking them to go unimproved. Whereas the African expedition, the preparations for which were already finiſhed, and almoſt the whole expence of it defrayed, would depend upon a ſingle effort; and beſides the ſecurity and ſatisfaction which the ſucceſs of it muſt give his ſubjects, would detain him during ſo ſhort a ſpace, that Francis could hardly take advantage of his abſence, to invade his dominions in Europe.

His preparations.

On all theſe accounts, Charles adhered to his firſt plan, and with ſuch determined obſtinacy, that he paid no regard to the Pope, who adviſed, or to Andrew Doria who conjured him not to expoſe his whole armament to almoſt unavoidable deſtruction, by venturing to approach the dangerous coaſt of Algiers at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, and when the autumnal winds were ſo violent. Having embarked on board Doria's gallies at Porto-Venere in the Genoeſe territories, he ſoon found that this experienced ſailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was ſo well acquainted; for ſuch a ſtorm aroſe that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous.

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vous. But as his courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, neither the renewed remonſtrances of the Pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been expoſed by diſregarding their advice, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal reſolution. The force, indeed, which he had collected, was ſuch as might have inſpired a Prince leſs adventurous, and leſs confident in his own ſchemes, with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, moſtly veterans, together with three thouſand volunteers, the flower of the Spaniſh and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the Emperor by attending him in his favourite expedition, and eager to ſhare in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to theſe were added a thouſand ſoldiers ſent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its moſt gallant Knights.

Lands in Africa.

THE voyage, from Majorca to the African coaſt, was not leſs tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had juſt finiſhed. When he approached the land, the roll of the ſea, and vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to diſembark. But at laſt, the Emperor, ſeizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without oppoſition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppoſe this mighty army, Haſcen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thouſand Moors, partly natives

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of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty anſwer when ſummoned to ſurrender. But with ſuch a handful of ſoldiers, neither his deſperate courage, nor conſummate ſkill in war, could have long reſiſted forces ſuperior to thoſe which had defeated Barbaroſſa at the head of ſixty thouſand men, and which had reduced Tunis, in ſpite of all his endeavours to ſave it.

The diſaſters which befel his army,

But how far ſoever the Emperor might think himſelf beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was ſuddenly expoſed to a more dreadful calamity, and one againſt which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the ſecond day after his landing, and before he had time for any thing but to diſperſe ſome light-armed Arabs who moleſted his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aſpect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind; and the rage of the tempeſt increaſing, during the night, the ſoldiers, who had brought nothing aſhore but their arms, remained expoſed to all its fury, without tents, or ſhelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was ſoon ſo wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low ſituation was overflowed with water, and they ſunk at every ſtep to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with ſuch impetuoſity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thruſt their ſpears into the ground, and

and to ſupport themſelves by taking hold of them. Haſcen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in ſuch diſtreſs to remain unmoleſted. About the dawn of morning, he ſallied out with ſoldiers, who having been ſcreened from the ſtorm under their own roofs, were freſh and vigorous. A body of Italians, who were ſtationed neareſt the city, diſpirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the poſt behind them diſcovered greater courage; but as the rain had extinguiſhed their matches, and wet their powder, their muſkets were uſeleſs, and having ſcarcely ſtrength to handle their other arms, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion. Almoſt the whole army, with the Emperor himſelf in perſon, was obliged to advance, before the enemy could be repulſed, who, after ſpreading ſuch general conſternation, and killing a conſiderable number of men, retired at laſt in good order.

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and fleet.

But all feeling or remembrance of this loſs and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting ſpectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the ſea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that deſtructive element is capable; all the ſhips, on which alone the whole army knew that their ſafety and ſubſiſtence depended, were ſeen driven from their anchors, ſome daſhing againſt each other, ſome beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced aſhore, and not a

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few ſinking in the waves. In leſs than an hour, fifteen ſhips of war, and an hundred and forty tranſports with eight thouſand men, periſhed; and ſuch of the unhappy crews as eſcaped the fury of the ſea, were murdered without mercy by the Arabs, as ſoon as they reached land. The Emperor ſtood in ſilent anguiſh and aſtoniſhment beholding this fatal event, which at once blaſted all his hopes of ſucceſs, and buried in the depths the vaſt ſtores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for ſubſiſting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other aſſiſtance or relief than by ſending ſome troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were ſo fortunate as to get aſhore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At laſt the wind began to fall, and to give ſome hopes that as many ſhips might eſcape, as would be ſufficient to ſave the army from periſhing by famine, and tranſport them back to Europe. But theſe were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the ſea with darkneſs; and it being impoſſible for the officers aboard the ſhips which had outlived the ſtorm, to ſend any intelligence to their companions who were aſhore, they remained during the night in all the anguiſh of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty. Next day, a boat diſpatched by Doria, made ſhift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the ſtorm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the ſea, he had never ſeen any equal in fierceneſs and horror,

ror, he had found it neceſſary to bear away with his ſhattered ſhips to Cape Metafuz. He adviſed the Emperor, as the face of the ſky was ſtill lowering and tempeſtuous, to march with all ſpeed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater eaſe. 1541.

Obliged to retreat.

WHATEVER comfort this intelligence afforded Charles, from being aſſured that part of his fleet had eſcaped, was balanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was at leaſt three days march from his preſent camp; all the proviſions which he had brought aſhore at his firſt landing were now conſumed; his ſoldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able for ſuch a march, even in a friendly country; and being diſpirited by a ſucceſſion of hardſhips, which victory itſelf would ſcarcely have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the ſituation of the army was ſuch, as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the leaſt doubtful what to chooſe. They were ordered inſtantly to march, the wounded, the ſick, and the feeble, being placed in the centre; ſuch as ſeemed moſt vigorous were ſtationed in the front and rear. Then the ſad effects of what they had ſuffered began to appear more manifeſtly than ever, and new calamities were added to all thoſe which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms; others, ſpent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almoſt impaſſable roads, ſunk

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down and died; many periſhed by famine, as the whole army ſubſiſted chiefly on roots and berries, or the fleſh of horſes, killed by the Emperor's order, and diſtributed among the ſeveral battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were ſwoln ſo much by the exceſſive rains, that in paſſing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greateſt part of their retreat, alarmed, haraſſed, and annoyed them night and day. At laſt they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now ſo calm as to reſtore their communication with the fleet, they were ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, and cheered with the proſpect of ſafety.

His fortitude of mind.

DURING this dreadful ſeries of calamities, the Emperor diſcovered great qualities, many of which a long continued flow of proſperity had ſcarcely afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying. He appeared conſpicuous for firmneſs and conſtancy of ſpirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compaſſion. He endured as great hardſhips as the meaneſt ſoldier; he expoſed his own perſon wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the deſponding; viſited the ſick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the laſt who left the ſhore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great diſtance, ready to fall on the rear. By theſe virtues, Charles atoned, in ſome degree, for his obſtinacy and preſumption in undertaking an expedition ſo fatal to his ſubjects.

1541. Returns to Europe.

THE calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprize did not end here; for no ſooner were the forces got on board, than a new ſtorm ariſing, though leſs furious than the former, ſcattered the fleet, and obliged them, ſeparately, to make towards ſuch ports in Spain or Italy as they could firſt reach; thus ſpreading the account of their diſaſters, with all the circumſtances of aggravation and horror, which their imagination, ſtill under the influence of fear, ſuggeſted. The Emperor himſelf, after eſcaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was Decem. 2. obliged by contrary winds to remain ſeveral weeks, arrived at laſt in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition againſt the Infidels [z].

[z] Carol. V. Expeditio ad Argyriam, per Nicolaum Villagnonem Equitem Rhodium, ap. Scardium, v. ii. 365. Jovii Hiſt. l. xl. p. 269, &c. Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlos V. p. 83. Sandov. Hiſtor. ii. 299, &c.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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1541. Renewal of hoſtilities by Francis, and his motives for it.

THE calamities which the Emperor ſuffered in his unfortunate enterprize againſt Algiers were great; and the account of theſe, which augmented in proportion as it ſpread at a greater diſtance from the ſcene of his diſaſters, encouraged Francis to begin hoſtilities, on which he had been for ſome time reſolved. But he did not think it prudent to produce, as the motives of this reſolution, either his ancient pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, or the Emperor's diſingenuity in violating his repeated promiſes with regard to the reſtitution of that country. The former might have been a good reaſon againſt concluding the truce of Nice, but was none for breaking it; the latter could not be urged without expoſing his own

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own credulity as much as the Emperor's want of integrity. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the Imperial generals furniſhed him with a reaſon to juſtify his taking arms, which was of greater weight than either of theſe, and ſuch as would have rouſed him, if he had been as deſirous of peace as he was eager for war. Francis, by ſigning the treaty of truce at Nice, without conſulting Solyman, gave (as he foreſaw) great offence to that haughty Monarch, who conſidered an alliance with him as an honour of which a Chriſtian prince had cauſe to be proud. The friendly interview of the French King with the Emperor in Provence, followed by ſuch extraordinary appearances of union and confidence which diſtinguiſhed the reception of Charles when he paſſed through the dominions of Francis to the Low-Countries, induced the Sultan to ſuſpect that the two rivals had at laſt forgotten their ancient enmity, in order that they might form ſuch a general confederacy againſt the Ottoman power, as had been long wiſhed for in Chriſtendom, and often attempted in vain. Charles, with his uſual art, endeavoured to confirm and ſtrengthen theſe ſuſpicions, by inſtructing his emiſſaries at Conſtantinople, as well as in thoſe courts with which Solyman held any intelligence, to repreſent the concord between him and Francis to be ſo entire, that their ſentiments, views, and purſuits, would be the ſame for the future[a]. It was not without diffi-

[a] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. p. 502.

culty

culty that Francis effaced these impressions; but the address of Rincon, the French ambassador at the Porte, together with the manifest advantage of carrying on hostilities against the house of Austria in concert with France, prevailed at length on the Sultan not only to banish his suspicions, but to enter into a closer conjunction with Francis than ever. Rincon returned into France, in order to communicate to his master a scheme of the Sultan's, for gaining the concurrence of the Venetians in their operations against the common enemy. Solyman having lately concluded a peace with that republic, to which the mediation of Francis and the good offices of Rincon had greatly contributed, thought it not impossible to allure the senate by such advantages, as, together with the example of the French Monarch, might overbalance any scruples arising either from decency or caution, that could operate on the other side. Francis, warmly approving of this measure, dispatched Rincon back to Constantinople, and, directing him to go by Venice along with Fregoso, a Genoese exile, whom he appointed his ambassador to that republic, empowered them to negociate the matter with the senate, to whom Solyman had sent an envoy for the same purpose [b]. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese, an officer of great abilities, but capable of attempting and executing the most atrocious actions, got intelligence of the motions and destination of these ambassadors. As he

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[b] Hist. de Venet. de Paruta, iv. 125.

knew

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knew how much his maſter wiſhed to diſcover the intentions of the French King, and of what conſequence it was to retard the execution of his meaſures, he employed ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fregoſo as they ſailed down the Po, who murdered them and moſt of their attendants, and ſeized their papers. Upon receiving an account of this barbarous outrage, committed, during the ſubſiſtence of a truce, againſt perſons held ſacred by the moſt uncivilized nations, Francis's grief for the unhappy fate of two ſervants whom he loved and truſted, his uneaſineſs at the interruption of his ſchemes by their death, and every other paſſion, were ſwallowed up and loſt in the indignation which this inſult on the honour of his crown excited. He exclaimed loudly againſt Guaſto, who, having drawn upon himſelf all the infamy of aſſaſſination without making any diſcovery of importance, as the ambaſſadors had left their inſtructions and other papers of conſequence behind them, now boldly denied his being acceſſary in any wiſe to the crime. He ſent an ambaſſador to the Emperor, to demand ſuitable reparation for an indignity, which no prince, how inconſiderable or puſillanimous ſoever, could tamely endure: and when Charles, impatient at that time to ſet out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evaſive anſwer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the injury, the ſpirit of moderation with which he had applied for redreſs, and the iniquity

The murder of his ambaſſadors his pretext for this.

quity of the Emperor in diſregarding this juſt requeſt.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the confidence with which Guaſto aſſerted his own innocence, the accuſations of the French gained greater credit than all his proteſtations; and Bellay, the French commander in Piedmont, procured, at length, by his induſtry and addreſs, ſuch a minute detail of the tranſaction, with the teſtimony of ſo many of the parties concerned, as amounted almoſt to a legal proof of the marquis's guilt. In conſequence of this opinion of the public, confirmed by ſuch ſtrong evidence, Francis's complaints were univerſally allowed to be well founded, and the ſteps which he took towards renewing hoſtilities, were aſcribed not merely to ambition or reſentment, but to the unavoidable neceſſity of vindicating the honour of his crown [c].

HOWEVER juſt Francis might eſteem his own cauſe, he did not truſt ſo much to that, as to neglect the proper precautions for gaining other allies beſides the Sultan, by whoſe aid he might counterbalance the Emperor's ſuperior power. But his negociations to this effect were attended with very little ſucceſs. Henry VIII. eagerly bent at that time upon ſchemes againſt Scotland, which he knew would at once diſſolve his union with France, was inclinable rather to take part

[c] Bellay, 367, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xl. 268.

with

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with the Emperor, than to contribute in any degree towards favouring the operations againſt him. The Pope adhered inviolably to his ancient ſyſtem of neutrality. The Venetians, notwithſtanding Solyman's ſolicitations, imitated the Pope's example. The Germans, ſatisfied with the religious liberty which they enjoyed, found it more their intereſt to gratify than to irritate the Emperor; ſo that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who on this occaſion were firſt drawn in to intereſt themſelves in the quarrels of the more potent Monarchs of the ſouth, and the duke of Cleves, who had a diſpute with the Emperor about the poſſeſſion of Gueldres, were the only confederates whom Francis ſecured. But the dominions of the two former lay at ſuch a diſtance, and the power of the latter was ſo inconſiderable, that he gained little by their alliance.

Francis's induſtry in preparing for war.

But Francis by vigorous efforts of his own activity ſupplied every defect. Being afflicted at this time with a diſtemper, which was the effect of his irregular pleaſures, and which prevented his purſuing them with the ſame licentious indulgence, he applied to buſineſs with more than his uſual induſtry. The ſame cauſe which occaſioned this extraordinary attention to his affairs, rendered him moroſe and diſſatisfied with the miniſters whom he had hitherto employed. This accidental peeviſhneſs being ſharpened by reflecting on the falſe ſteps into which he had lately been betrayed, as well as the inſults to which he had been expoſed, ſome of

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those in whom he had usually placed the greatest confidence felt the effects of this change in his temper, and were deprived of their offices. At last he disgraced Montmorency himself, who had long directed affairs, as well civil as military, with all the authority of a minister no less beloved than trusted by his master; and Francis being fond of shewing that the fall of such a powerful favourite did not affect the vigour or prudence of his administration, this was a new motive to redouble his diligence in preparing to open the war by some splendid and extraordinary effort.

1542. He brings five armies into the field.

He accordingly brought into the field five armies. One to act in Luxembourg under the duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine as his instructor in the art of war. Another commanded by the dauphin marched towards the frontiers of Spain. A third led by Van Rossem the marshal of Gueldres, and composed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Brabant allotted for the theatre of its operations. A fourth, of which the duke of Vendome was general, hovered on the borders of Flanders. The last, consisting of the forces cantoned in Piedmont, was destined for the Admiral Annebaut. The dauphin and his brother were appointed to command where the chief exertions were intended, and the greatest honour to be reaped; the army of the former amounted to forty thousand, that of the latter to thirty thousand men. Nothing appears more surprising than that Francis did not pour with

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1542. with theſe numerous and irreſiſtible armies into the Milaneſe, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes as well as enterprizes; and that he ſhould chooſe rather to turn almoſt his whole ſtrength into another direction, and towards new conqueſts. But the remembrance of the diſaſters which he had met with in his former expeditions into Italy, together with the difficulty of ſupporting a war carried on at ſuch a diſtance from his own dominions, had gradually abated his violent inclination to obtain footing in that country, and made him willing to try the fortune of his arms in another quarter. At the ſame time he expected to make ſuch a powerful impreſſion on the frontier of Spain, where there were few towns of any ſtrength, and no army aſſembled to oppoſe him, as might enable him to recover poſſeſſion of the country of Rouſſillon, lately diſmembered from the French crown, before Charles could bring into the field any force able to obſtruct his progreſs. The neceſſity of ſupporting his ally the duke of Cleves, and the hope of drawing a conſiderable body of ſoldiers out of Germany by his means, determined him to act with vigour in the Low-Countries.

June. Their operations. THE dauphin and duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the ſame time; the former laying ſiege to Perpignan the capital of Rouſſillon, and the latter entering Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans puſhed his operations with the greateſt rapidity and ſucceſs, one town falling after

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after another, until no place in that large dutchy remained in the Emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of over-running the adjacent provinces with the ſame eaſe, if he had not voluntarily ſtopt ſhort in this career of victory. But a report prevailing that the Emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to ſave Perpignan, on a ſudden the duke, prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealouſy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conqueſt, and haſtened towards Rouſillon, in order to divide with him the glory of the victory.

On his departure ſome of his troops were diſbanded, others deſerted their colours, and the reſt, cantoned in the towns which he had taken, remained inactive. By this conduct, which leaves a diſhonourable imputation either on his underſtanding or his heart, or on both, he not only renounced whatever he could have hoped from ſuch a promiſing commencement of the campaign, but gave the enemy an opportunity of recovering, before the end of ſummer, all the conqueſts which he had gained. On the Spaniſh frontier, the Emperor was not ſo inconſiderate as to venture on a battle, the loſs of which might have endangered his kingdom. Perpignan, though poorly fortified, and briſkly attacked, having been largely ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions by the vigilance of Doria[d], was defended ſo long

[d] Sigonii Vita A. Doriæ, p. 1191.

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1542. and ſo vigorouſly by the duke of Alva, the perſevering obſtinacy of whoſe temper fitted him admirably for ſuch a ſervice, that at laſt the French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſes, repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, relinquiſhed the undertaking, and retired into their own country[e]. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from ſome defect in his own conduct, or from the ſuperior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects which bore any proportion to his expence and efforts, or ſuch as gratified, in any degree, his own hopes, or anſwered the expectation of Europe. The only ſolid advantage of the campaign was the acquiſition of a few towns in Piedmont, which Bellay gained rather by ſtratagem and addreſs, than by force of arms[f].

1543. Preparations for another campaign.

THE Emperor and Francis, though both conſiderably exhauſted by ſuch great but indeciſive efforts, diſcovering no abatement of their mutual animoſity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themſelves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with ſuch a reinforcement of ſtrength as would give them the ſuperiority in the enſuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and reſentment of the Spaniards, upon the ſudden invaſion of their country, prevailed on the Cortes of the ſeveral kingdoms to grant him ſubſidies with a

[e] Sandov. Hiſt. tom. ii. 315.

[f] Sandov. Hiſt. ii. 318. Bellay, 387, &c. Ferrer. ix. 237.

more

more liberal hand than uſual. At the ſame time he borrowed a large ſum from John King of Portugal, and, by way of ſecurity for his repayment, put him in poſſeſſion of the Molucca Iſles in the Eaſt Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious ſpices, which that ſequeſtered corner of the globe yields. Not ſatisfied with this, he negociated a marriage between Philip his only ſon, now in his ſixteenth year, and Mary daughter of that Monaach, with whom her father, the moſt opulent prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewiſe perſuaded the Cortes of Aragon and Valencia to recogniſe Philip as the heir of theſe crowns, he obtained from them the donative uſual on ſuch occaſions[g]. Theſe extraordinary ſupplies enabled him to make ſuch additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low-Countries, and yet reſerve as many as were ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the ſecurity of Spain, and committed the government of it to his ſon, he ſailed for Italy, in his way to Germany. But how attentive ſoever to raiſe the funds for carrying on the war, or eager to graſp at any new expedient for that purpoſe, he was not ſo inconſiderate as to accept of an overture which Paul, knowing his neceſſities, artfully threw out to him. That ambitious Pontiff, no leſs ſagacious to diſcern, than watchful to ſeize opportunities of aggrandizing his family, ſolicited

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[g] Ferreras, ix. 238. 241. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xlii. 298. 6.

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him to grant Octavio his grandchild, whom the Emperor had admitted to the honour of being his ſon in-law, the inveſture of the dutchy of Milan, in return for which he promiſed ſuch a ſum of money as would have gone far towards ſupplying all his preſent exigencies. But Charles, as well from unwillingneſs to alienate a province of ſo much value, as from diſguſt at the Pope, who had hitherto refuſed to join in the war againſt Francis, rejected the propoſal. His diſſatisfaction with Paul at that juncture was ſo great, that he even refuſed to approve his alienating Parma and Placentia from the patrimony of St. Peter, and ſettling them on his ſon and grandſon as a fief to be held of the Holy See. As no other expedient for raiſing money among the Italian ſtates remained, he conſented to withdraw the garriſons which he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn; in conſideration for which he received a large preſent from Coſmo di Medici, who by this means ſecured his own independence, and got poſſeſſion of two forts, which were juſtly called the fetters of Tuſcany [b].

The Emperor's negociations with Henry VIII.

But Charles, while he ſeemed to have turned his whole attention towards raiſing the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expences of the year, had not been negligent of objects more diſtant, though no leſs important, and had concluded a

[b] Adriani Iſtoria, i. 195. Sleid. 312. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xliii. p. 301. Vita di Coſ. Medici di Baldini, p. 34.

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league offensive and defensive with Henry VIII. from which he derived, in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several slight circumstances which have already been mentioned, had begun to alienate the affections of that Monarch from Francis, with whom he had been for some time in close alliance; and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increase his disgust and animosity. Henry, desirous of establishing an uniformity in religion in both the British kingdoms, as well as fond of making proselytes to his own opinions, had formed a scheme of persuading his nephew the King of Scots to renounce the Pope's supremacy, and to adopt the same system of reformation, which he had introduced into England. This measure he pursued with his usual eagerness and impetuosity, making such advantageous offers to James, whom he considered as not over-scrupulously attached to any religious tenets, that he hardly doubted of success. His propositions were accordingly received in such a manner, that he flattered himself with having gained his point. But the Scottish ecclesiastics, foreseeing how fatal the union of their Sovereign with England must prove both to their own power, and to the established system of religion; and the partisans of France, no less convinced that it would put an end to the influence of that crown upon the public councils of Scotland; combined together, and by their insinuations defeated Henry's scheme at the very moment when he expected it to have taken effect[i]. Too

Henry's rupture with France and Scotland.

[i] Hist. of Scotl. vol. i. p. 71, &c. 9th edit. 8vo.

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haughty to brook ſuch a diſappointment, which he imputed as much to the arts of the French, as to the levity of the Scottiſh Monarch, he took arms againſt Scotland, threatening to ſubdue the kingdom, ſince he could not gain the friendſhip of its King. At the ſame time, his reſentment againſt Francis quickened his negociations with the Emperor, an alliance with whom he was now as forward to accept as the other could be to offer it. During this war with Scotland, and before the concluſion of his negociations with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown to Mary his only daughter, an infant a few days old. Upon this event, Henry altered at once his whole ſyſtem with regard to Scotland, and abandoning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at what was more advantageous as well as more practicable, an union with that kingdom by a marriage between Edward his only ſon and the young Queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous oppoſition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to beſtir itſelf in order to thwart the meaſure. The neceſſity of cruſhing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furniſhing them any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's reſolution of breaking with France, and puſhed him on to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the Emperor.

Feb. 11. Alliance between Charles and Henry.

In this league were contained firſt of all, articles for ſecuring their future amity and mutual defence; then were enumerated the demands which they were reſpectively to make upon Francis;

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cis; and the plan of their operations was fixed, if he ſhould refuſe to grant them ſatisfaction. They agreed to require that Francis ſhould not only renounce his alliance with Solyman, which had been the ſource of infinite calamities to Chriſtendom, but alſo that he ſhould make reparation for the damages which that unnatural union had occaſioned; that he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor; that he ſhould deſiſt immediately from hoſtilities, and leave Charles at leiſure to oppoſe the common enemy of the Chriſtian faith; and that he ſhould immediately pay the ſums due to Henry, or put ſome towns in his hands as ſecurity to that effect. If, within forty days, he did not comply with theſe demands, they then engaged to invade France each with twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and not to lay down their arms until they had recovered Burgundy, together with the towns on the Somme, for the Emperor, and Normandy and Guienne, or even the whole realm of France, for Henry[k]. Their heralds, acccordingly, ſet out with theſe haughty requiſitions; and though they were not permitted to enter France, the two Monarchs held themſelves fully entitled to execute whatever was ſtipulated in their treaty.

Francis's negociations with Solyman.

Francis, on his part, was not leſs diligent in preparing for the approaching campaign. Having early obſerved ſymptoms of Henry's diſ-

[k] Rym. xiv. 768. Herb. 238.

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guſt and alienation, and finding all his endeavours to ſooth and reconcile him ineffectual, he knew his temper too well not to expect that open hoſtilities would quickly follow upon this ceſſation of friendſhip. For this reaſon he redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman ſuch aid as might counterbalance the great acceſſion of ſtrength which the Emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to ſupply the place of the two ambaſſadors who had been murdered by Guaſto, he ſent as his envoy, firſt to Venice, and then to Conſtantinople, Paulin, who, though in no higher rank than a captain of foot, was deemed worthy of being raiſed to this important ſtation, to which he was recommended by Bellay, who had trained him to the arts of negociation, and made trial of his talents and addreſs on ſeveral occaſions. Nor did he belie the opinion conceived of his courage and abilities. Haſtening to Conſtantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was expoſed, he urged his maſter's demands with ſuch boldneſs, and availed himſelf of every circumſtance with ſuch dexterity, that he ſoon removed all the Sultan's difficulties. As ſome of the Baſhaws, ſwayed either by their own opinion, or influenced by the Emperor's emiſſaries, who had made their way even into this court, had declared in the Divan againſt acting in concert with France, he found means either to convince or ſilence them[k].

[k] Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. 346. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xli. 285, &c. 300, &c. Brantome.

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At last he obtained orders for Barbaroſſa to ſail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French King. Francis was not equally ſucceſsful in his attempts to gain the Princes of the Empire. The extraordinary rigour with which he thought it neceſſary to puniſh ſuch of his ſubjects as had embraced the Proteſtant opinions, in order to give ſome notable evidence of his own zeal for the Catholic faith, and to wipe off the imputations to which he was liable from his confederacy with the Turks, placed an inſuperable barrier between him and ſuch of the Germans as intereſt or inclination would have prompted moſt readily to join him[1]. His chief advantage, however, over the Emperor, he derived on this, as on other occaſions, from the contiguity of his dominions, as well as from the extent of the royal authority in France, which exempted him from all the delays and diſappointments unavoidable wherever popular aſſemblies provide for the expences of government by occaſional and frugal ſubſidies. Hence his domeſtic preparations were always carried on with vigour and rapidity, while thoſe of the Emperor, unleſs when quickened by ſome foreign ſupply, or ſome temporary expedient, were extremely ſlow and dilatory.

Operations in the Low Countries.

Long before any army was in readineſs to oppoſe him, Francis took the field in the Low-

[1] Seck. lib. iii. 403.

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Countries, againſt which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himſelf maſter of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault; and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning from thence to the right, he entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the ſame defenceleſs ſtate as in the former year. While he was thus employed, the Emperor having drawn together an army, compoſed of all the different nations ſubject to his government, entered the territories of the Duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. This prince, whoſe conduct and ſituation were ſimilar to that of Robert de la Mark in the firſt war between Charles and Francis, reſembled him likewiſe in his fate. Unable, with his feeble army, to face the Emperor, who advanced at the head of forty-four thouſand men, he retired at his approach; and the Imperialiſts being at liberty to act as they pleaſed, immediately inveſted Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was taken by aſſault; all the inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the place itſelf reduced to aſhes. This dreadful example of ſeverity ſtruck the people of the country with ſuch general terror, that all the other towns, even ſuch as were capable of reſiſtance, ſent their keys to the Emperor; and before a body of French, detached to his aſſiſtance, could come up, the Duke himſelf was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion to Charles in the moſt abject manner. Being admitted into the Imperial preſence, he

The Emperor becomes maſter of the Dutchy of Cleves, Auguſt 24.

he kneeled, together with eight of his principal subjects, and implored mercy. The Emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious posture, and eyeing him with an haughty and severe look, without deigning to answer a single word, remitted him to his ministers. The conditions, however, which they prescribed were not so rigorous as he had reason to have expected after such a reception. He was obliged to renounce his alliance with France and Denmark; to resign all his pretensions to the dutchy of Gueldres; to enter into perpetual amity with the Emperor and King of the Romans. In return for which, all his hereditary dominions were restored, except two towns which the Emperor kept as pledges of the Duke's fidelity during the continuance of the war; and he was reinstated in his privileges as a Prince of the Empire. Not long after, Charles, as a proof of the sincerity of his reconcilement, gave him in marriage one of the daughters of his brother Ferdinand[m].

Sept. 7.

HAVING thus chastised the presumption of the Duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies from Francis, and annexed to his own dominions in the Low-Countries a considerable province which lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced towards Hainault, and laid siege to Landrecy. There, as the first fruits of his alliance with Henry, he was

Besieges Landrecy.

[m] Haræi Annal. Brabant. t. i. 628. Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 226.

joined

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1543. joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh under Sir John Wallop. The garriſon, conſiſting of veteran troops commanded by De la Lande and Deſſé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous reſiſtance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve that place; Charles covered the ſiege; both were determined to hazard an engagement; and all Europe expected to ſee this conteſt, which had continued ſo long, decided at laſt by a battle between two great armies, led by their reſpective Monarchs in perſon. But the ground which ſeparated their two camps was ſuch, as put the diſadvantage manifeſtly on his ſide who ſhould venture to attack, and neither of them choſe to run that riſque. Amidſt a variety of movements, in order to draw the enemy into the ſnare, or to avoid it themſelves, Francis, with admirable conduct and equal good fortune, threw firſt a ſupply of freſh troops, and then a convoy of proviſions, into the town, ſo that the Emperor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, withdrew into winter-quarters [n], in order to preſerve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the ſeaſon.

November. Solyman invades Hungary.

DURING this campaign, Solyman fulfilled his engagements to the French King with great punctuality. He himſelf marched into Hungary with a numerous army; and as the Princes of the Empire made no great effort to ſave a country which Charles, by employing his own force againſt Francis, ſeemed willing to ſacrifice, there was no ap-

[n] Bellay, 405, &c.

pearance

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pearance of any body of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. He beſieged, one after another, Quinque Eccleſiæ, Alba, and Gran, the three moſt conſiderable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand had kept poſſeſſion. The firſt was taken by ſtorm; the other two ſurrendered; and the whole kingdom, a ſmall corner excepted, was ſubjected to the Turkiſh yoke[o]. About the ſame time, Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of an hundred and ten gallies, and coaſting along the ſhore of Calabria, made a deſcent at Rheggio, which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, he ſtopt there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his deſtination, and filled with terror, began to fly with ſuch general precipitation, that the city would have been totally deſerted, if they had not reſumed courage upon letters from Paulin the French envoy, aſſuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any ſtate in alliance with the King his maſter[p]. From Oſtia, Barbaroſſa ſailed to Marſeilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land forces on board, under the count d'Enguien, a gallant young prince of the houſe of Bourbon, they directed their courſe towards Nice, the ſole retreat of the unfortunate duke of Savoy. There, to the aſtoniſhment and ſcandal of all Chriſtendom, the Lilies of France and Creſcent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction

Barbaroſſa's deſcent on Italy.

Auguſt 10.

[o] Iſtuanhaff. Hiſtor. Hung. l. xv. 167.

[p] Jovii Hiſt. l. xliii. 304, &c. Pallavic. 160.

againſt

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1543. againſt a fortreſs on which the Croſs of Savoy was diſplayed. The town, however, was bravely defended againſt their combined force by Montfort a Savoyard gentleman, who ſtood a general aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with great loſs, before he retired into the caſtle. That fort, ſituated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impreſſion, and which could not be undermined, he held out ſo long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the Marquis del Guaſto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this, the French and Turks raiſed the ſiege[q]; and Francis had not even the conſolation of ſucceſs, to render the infamy which he drew on himſelf by calling in ſuch an auxiliary, more pardonable.

Sept. 8.

Preparations for a new campaign.

FROM the ſmall progreſs of either party during this campaign, it was obvious to what a length the war might be drawn out between two princes, whoſe power was ſo equally balanced, and who, by their own talents or activity, could ſo vary and multiply their reſources. The trial which they had now made of each other's ſtrength might have taught them the imprudence of perſiſting in a war, wherein there was greater appearance of their diſtreſſing their own dominions than of conquering thoſe of their adverſary, and ſhould have diſpoſed both to wiſh for peace. If Charles and Francis

[q] Guichenon Hiſtoire de Savoye, t. i. p. 651. Bellay, 425, &c.

had

had been influenced by conſiderations of intereſt or prudence alone, this, without doubt, muſt have been the manner in which they would have reaſoned. But the perſonal animoſity, which mingled itſelf in all their quarrels, had grown to be ſo violent and implacable, that, for the pleaſure of gratifying it, they diſregarded every thing elſe; and were infinitely more ſolicitous how to hurt each other, than how to ſecure what would be of advantage to themſelves. No ſooner then did the ſeaſon force them to ſuſpend hoſtilities, than, without paying any attention to the Pope's repeated endeavours or paternal exhortations to re-eſtabliſh peace, they began to provide for the operations of the next year with new vigour, and an activity increaſing with their hatred. Charles turned his chief attention towards gaining the Princes of the Empire, and endeavoured to rouſe the formidable but unwieldy ſtrength of the Germanic body againſt Francis. In order to underſtand the propriety of the ſteps which he took for that purpoſe, it is neceſſary to review the chief tranſactions in that country ſince the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one.

1543.

Affairs of Germany.

Much about the time that aſſembly broke up, Maurice ſucceeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to diſcover the great ta-

Maurice of Saxony ſucceeds his father.

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lents which qualified him for acting ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the affairs of Germany. As ſoon as he entered upon the adminiſtration, he ſtruck out into ſuch a new and ſingular path, as ſhewed that he aimed, from the beginning, at ſomething great and uncommon. Though zealouſly attached to the Proteſtant opinions, both from education and principle, he refuſed to accede to the league of Smalkalde, being determined, as he ſaid, to maintain the purity of religion, which was the original object of that confederacy, but not to entangle himſelf in the political intereſts or combinations to which it had given riſe. At the ſame time, foreſeeing a rupture between Charles and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiving which of them was moſt likely to prevail in the conteſt, inſtead of that jealouſy and diſtruſt which the other Proteſtants expreſſed of all the Emperor's deſigns, he affected to place in him an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmoſt aſſiduity. When the other Proteſtants, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two, either declined aſſiſting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Maurice marched thither in perſon, and rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his zeal and courage. From the ſame motive, he had led to the Emperor's aſſiſtance, during the laſt campaign, a body of his own troops; and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his dexterity in all military exerciſes, together with his intrepidity, which courted and delighted in danger, did not diſtinguiſh

The views and conduct of this young prince.

guiſh him more in the field, than his great abilities and inſinuating addreſs won upon the Emperor's confidence and favour [r]. While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to thoſe who held the ſame opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the Emperor, he began to diſcover ſome degree of jealouſy of his couſin the Elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the ſequel ſo fatal to the Elector, had almoſt occaſioned an open rupture between them; and ſoon after Maurice's acceſſion to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a diſpute about the right of juriſdiction over a paltry town ſituated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to action by the mediation of the Landgrave of Heſſe, whoſe daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther [s].

The Pope propoſes to hold a general council at Trent.

AMIDST theſe tranſactions, the Pope, though extremely irritated at the Emperor's conceſſions to the Proteſtants at the diet of Ratiſbon, was ſo warmly ſolicited on all hands, by ſuch as were moſt devoutly attached to the See of Rome, no leſs than by thoſe whoſe fidelity or deſigns he ſuſpected, to ſummon a general council, that he found it impoſſible to avoid any longer calling that aſſembly. The impatience for its meeting,

[r] Sleid. 317. Seck. l. iii. 371. 386. 428.

[s] Sleid. 292. Seck. l. iii. 403.

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1543. and the expectations of great effects from its deciſions, ſeemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He ſtill adhered, however, to his original reſolution of holding it in ſome town of Italy, where, by the number of eccleſiaſtics, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This propoſition, though often rejected by the Germans, he inſtructed his nuncio to the diet

March 3. held at Spires, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-two, to renew once more; and if he found it gave no greater ſatisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a laſt conceſſion, to propoſe for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol, ſubject to the King of the Romans, and ſituated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholic princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratiſbon, Cologne, or ſome of the great cities of the Empire, were at length induced to approve of the place which the Pope had named. The Proteſtants unanimouſly expreſſed their diſſatisfaction, and proteſted that they would pay no regard to a council held beyond the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding [t].

May 22. 1542. Summons it to meet. THE Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, publiſhed the bull of intimation, named

[t] Sleid. 291. Seck. l. iii. 283.

three

three cardinals to preſide as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the firſt of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But if Paul had deſired the meeting of a council as ſincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on ſuch an improper time for calling it. Inſtead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be conducted with ſecurity, nor attended with authority, ſuch a fierce war was juſt kindled between the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it impoſſible for the eccleſiaſtics from many parts of Europe to reſort thither in ſafety. The legates, accordingly, remained ſeveral months at Trent; but as no perſon appeared there, except a few prelates from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the church, recalled them and prorogued the council [u].

Obliged to prorogue it.

UNHAPPILY for the authority of the papal ſee, at the very time that the German Proteſtants took every occaſion of pouring contempt upon it, the Emperor and King of the Romans found it neceſſary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the ſame diet of Spires, in which they had proteſted in the moſt diſreſpectful terms againſt aſſembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand, who de-

The Emperor courts the Proteſtants.

[u] F. Paul, p. 97. Sleid. 296.

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pended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that proteſtation to be inſerted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the Emperor's conceſſions at Ratiſbon, adding to them whatever they demanded for their farther ſecurity. Among other particulars, he granted a ſuſpenſion of a decree of the Imperial chamber againſt the city of Goſlar (one of thoſe which had entered into the league of Smalkalde), on account of its having ſeized the eccleſiaſtical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry Duke of Brunſwick to deſiſt from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no leſs obſtinate than raſh in all his undertakings, continuing to diſquiet the people of Goſlar by his incurſions, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, that they might not ſuffer any member of the Smalkaldic body to be oppreſſed, aſſembled their forces, declared war in form againſt Henry, and in the ſpace of a few weeks, ſtripping him entirely of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no leſs ſevere than ſudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalkalde appeared, by this firſt effort of their arms, to be as ready as they were able to protect thoſe who had joined their aſſociation [x].

Their vigorous proceedings.

[x] Sleid. 296. Commemoratio ſuccincta Cauſarum Belli, &c. a Smalkaldicis contra Henr. Brunſw. ab iiſdem edita: ap. Scardium, tom. ii. 307.

1543.

EMBOLDENED by ſo many conceſſions in their favour, as well as by the progreſs which their opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a ſolemn proteſt againſt the Imperial chamber, and declined its juriſdiction for the future, becauſe that court had not been viſited or reformed according to the decree of Ratiſbon, and continued to diſcover a moſt indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a ſtep farther; and proteſting againſt the receſs of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refuſed to furniſh their contingent for that purpoſe, unleſs the Imperial chamber were reformed, and full ſecurity were granted them in every point with regard to religion [y].

April 23, 1543.

Diet at Spires, 1544.

SUCH were the lengths to which the Proteſtants had proceeded, and ſuch their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the Low-Countries, to hold a diet, which he had ſummoned to meet at Spires. The reſpect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this aſſembly extremely full. All the Electors, a great number of princes eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, with the deputies of moſt of the cities, were preſent. Charles ſoon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous ſpirit of the Proteſtants, by aſſerting in any high tone the authority and doctrines of the church, or by abridging, in the ſmalleſt ar-

[y] Sleid. 304. 307. Seck. l. iii. 404. 416.

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ticle, the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that, on the contrary, if he expected any ſupport from them, or wiſhed to preſerve Germany from inteſtine diſorders while he was engaged in a foreign war, he muſt ſooth them by new conceſſions, and a more ample extenſion of their religious privileges. He began, accordingly, with courting the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Heſſe, the heads of the Proteſtant party, and by giving up ſome things in their favour, and granting liberal promiſes with regard to others, he ſecured himſelf from any danger of oppoſition on their part. Having gained this capital point, he then ventured to addreſs the diet with greater freedom. He began by repreſenting his own zeal, and unwearied efforts with regard to two things moſt eſſential to Chriſtendom, the procuring of a general council in order to compoſe the religious diſſenſions which had unhappily ariſen in Germany, and the providing ſome proper means for checking the formidable progreſs of the Turkiſh arms. But he obſerved, with deep regret, that his pious endeavours had been entirely defeated by the unjuſtifiable ambition of the French King, who having wantonly kindled the flame of war in Europe, which had been ſo lately extinguiſhed by the truce of Nice, rendered it impoſſible for the fathers of the church to aſſemble in council, or to deliberate with ſecurity; and obliged him to employ thoſe forces in his own defence, which, with greater ſatisfaction to himſelf, as well as more honour to Chriſtendom, he would have turned againſt the Infidels: That Francis, not thinking

The Emperor ſolicits its aid againſt France.

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thinking it enough to have called him off from oppoſing the Mahometans, had, with unexampled impiety, invited them into the heart of Chriſtendom, and, joining his arms to theirs, had openly attacked the Duke of Savoy a member of the Empire: That Barbaroſſa's fleet was now in one of the ports of France, waiting only the return of ſpring to carry terror and deſolation to the coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſtate: That in ſuch a ſituation it was folly to think of diſtant expeditions againſt the Turk, or of marching to oppoſe his armies in Hungary, while ſuch a powerful ally received him into the centre of Europe, and gave him footing there. It was a dictate of prudence, he added, to oppoſe the neareſt and moſt imminent danger, firſt of all, and by humbling the power of France, to deprive Solyman of the advantages, which he derived from the unnatural confederacy formed between him and a Monarch who ſtill arrogated the name of Moſt Chriſtian: That, in truth, a war againſt the French King and the Sultan ought to be conſidered as the ſame thing; and that every advantage gained over the former, was a ſevere and ſenſible blow to the latter: On all theſe accounts, he concluded with demanding their aid againſt Francis, not merely as an enemy of the Germanic body, or of him who was its head, but as an avowed ally of the Infidels, and a public enemy to the Chriſtian name.

In order to give greater weight to this violent invective of the Emperor, the King of the Ro-

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mans ſtood up, and related the rapid conqueſts of the Sultan in Hungary, occaſioned, as he ſaid, by the fatal neceſſity impoſed on his brother, of employing his arms againſt France. When he had finiſhed, the ambaſſador of Savoy gave a detail of Barbaroſſa's operations at Nice, and of the ravages which he had committed on that coaſt. All theſe, added to the general indignation which Francis's unprecedented union with the Turks excited in Europe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the diet as the Emperor wiſhed, and diſpoſed moſt of the members to grant him ſuch effectual aid as he had demanded. The ambaſſadors whom Francis had ſent to explain the motives of his conduct, were not permitted to enter the bounds of the Empire; and the apology which they publiſhed for their maſter, vindicating his alliance with Solyman, by examples drawn from Scripture, and the practice of Chriſtian princes, was little regarded by men who were irritated already, or prejudiced againſt him to ſuch a degree, as to be incapable of allowing their proper weight to any arguments in his behalf.

His vaſt conceſſions in order to gain the Proteſtants.

SUCH being the favourable diſpoſition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obſtruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing that the utmoſt ſolicitude of theſe paſſions could deſire for the ſecurity of their religion. With this view, he conſented to a receſs, whereby all the rigorous edicts hitherto iſſued againſt the Proteſtants

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teſtants were ſuſpended; a council either general or national to be aſſembled in Germany was declared neceſſary, in order to re-eſtabliſh peace in the church; until one of theſe ſhould be held (which the Emperor undertook to bring about as ſoon as poſſible), the free and public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was authorized; the Imperial chamber was enjoined to give no moleſtation to the Proteſtants; and when the term, for which the preſent judges in that court were elected, ſhould expire, perſons duly qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any diſtinction on account of religion. In return for theſe extraordinary acts of indulgence, the Proteſtants concurred with the other members of the diet, in declaring war againſt Francis in name of the empire; in voting the Emperor a body of twenty-four thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to be maintained at the public expence for ſix months, to be employed againſt France; and at the ſame time the diet impoſed a poll-tax to be levied throughout all Germany on every perſon without exception, for the ſupport of the war againſt the Turks.

Aid granted by the diet.

CHARLES, while he gave the greateſt attention to the minute and intricate detail of particulars neceſſary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided aſſembly to ſuch a ſucceſsful period, negociated a ſeparate peace with the King of Denmark; who, though he had hitherto performed nothing conſiderable in conſequence

Charles's negociations with Denmark and England.

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quence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a troubleſome diverſion in favour of that Monarch [z]. At the ſame time, he did not neglect proper applications to the King of England, in order to rouſe him to more vigorous efforts againſt their common enemy. Little, indeed, was wanting to accompliſh this; for ſuch events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the moſt violent pitch of reſentment againſt Francis. Having concluded with the parliament of Scotland a treaty of marriage between his ſon and their young Queen, by which he reckoned himſelf ſecure of effecting the union of the two kingdoms, which had been long deſired, and often attempted without ſucceſs by his predeceſſors, Mary of Guiſe the Queen-mother, cardinal Beatoun, and other partizans of France, found means not only to break off the match, but to alienate the Scottiſh nation entirely from the friendſhip of England, and to ſtrengthen its ancient attachment to France. Henry, however, did not abandon an object of ſo much importance; and as the humbling of Francis, beſides the pleaſure of taking revenge upon an enemy who had diſappointed a favourite meaſure, appeared the moſt effectual method of bringing the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had relinquiſhed, he was ſo eager to accompliſh this, that he was ready to ſecond whatever the Emperor could propoſe to be attempted againſt the French

[z] Dumont Corps Diplom. t. iv. p. ii. p. 274.

king

king. The plan, accordingly, which they concerted, was such, if it had been punctually executed, as must have ruined France in the first place, and would have augmented so prodigiously the Emperor's power and territories, as might in the end have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They agreed to invade France each with an army of twenty-five thousand men, and, without losing time in besieging the frontier towns, to advance directly towards the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris [a].

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The French take the field in Piedmont.

Francis stood alone in opposition to all the enemies whom Charles was mustering against him. Solyman had been the only ally who did not desert him; but the assistance which he received from him had rendered him so odious to all Christendom, that he resolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendship, than to become, on that account, the object of general detestation. For this reason, he dismissed Barbarossa as soon as winter was over, who, after ravaging the coast of Naples and Tuscany, returned to Constantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of so many powers combined against him, he endeavoured to supply that defect by dispatch, which was more in his power, and to get the start of them in taking the field. Early in the spring the count d'Enguien invested Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis del Guasto the Imperial gene-

Invest Carignan.

[a] Herbert, 245. Bellay, 448.

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ral having ſurpriſed the former year, conſidered as of ſo much importance, that he had fortified it at great expence. The count puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that Guaſto, fond of his own conqueſt, and ſeeing no other way of ſaving it from falling into the hands of the French, reſolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it.

The Imperialiſts march to relieve it.

He began his march from Milan for this purpoſe, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intention, it was ſoon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterpriſing young man, wiſhed paſſionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops deſired it with no leſs ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the King not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the preſent ſituation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former diſaſters, reſtrained him from venturing upon it. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan, when it was juſt ready to yield, and eager to diſtinguiſh his command by ſome memorable action, he diſpatched Monluc to court, in order to lay before the King the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The King referred the matter to his privy council; all the miniſters declared, one after another, againſt fighting, and ſupported their ſentiments by reaſons extremely plauſible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be preſent, diſcovered ſuch viſible and extravagant ſymptoms of impatience to ſpeak, as well as ſuch diſſatisfaction with what he heard, that

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Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to ſentiments which ſeemed to be as juſt as they were general. Upon this, Monluc, a plain but ſpirited ſoldier, and of known courage, repreſented the good condition of the troops, their eagerneſs to meet the enemy in the field, their confidence in their officers, together with the everlaſting infamy which the declining of a battle would bring on the French arms; and he urged his arguments with ſuch lively impetuoſity, and ſuch a flow of military eloquence, as gained over to his opinion, not only the King, naturally fond of daring actions, but ſeveral of the council. Francis, catching the ſame enthuſiaſm which had animated his troops, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and having lifted his hands to Heaven, and implored the Divine protection, he then addreſſed himſelf to Monluc, "Go, ſays he, return to Piedmont, and fight in the name of God [b]."

Battle of Ceriſoles.

No ſooner was it known that the King had given Enguien leave to fight the Imperialiſts, than ſuch was the martial ardour of the gallant and high-ſpirited gentlemen of that age, that the court was quite deſerted, every perſon deſirous of reputation, or capable of ſervice, hurrying to Piedmont, in order to ſhare, as volunteers, in the danger and glory of the action. Encouraged by the arrival of ſo many brave officers, Enguien

[b] Memoires de Monluc.

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immediately prepared for battle, nor did Guaſto decline the combat. The number of cavalry was almoſt equal, but the Imperial infantry exceeded the French by at leaſt ten thouſand men. They

April 11. met near Ceriſoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The ſhock was ſuch as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obſtinate. The French cavalry ruſhing forward to the charge with their uſual vivacity, bore down every thing that oppoſed them; but, on the other hand, the ſteady and diſciplined valour of the Spaniſh infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in ſuſpenſe, ready to declare for whichever general could make the beſt uſe of that critical moment. Guaſto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into diſorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French, whoſe vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſo, loſt his preſence of mind, and forgot to order a large body of reſerve to advance; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct, ſupported, at the head of his gens d'armes, ſuch of his battalions as began to yield; and at the ſame time he ordered the Swiſs in his ſervice, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards. This motion proved deciſive. All that followed was confuſion and ſlaughter. The marquis del Guaſto, wounded in the thigh, eſcaped only by the ſwift-

neſs

eſs of his horſe. The victory of the French was omplete, ten thouſand of the Imperialiſts being lain, and a conſiderable number, with all their ents, baggage, and artillery, taken. On the part f the conquerors, their joy was without allay, few only being killed, and among theſe no officer f diſtinction [c].

Effects of it.

THIS ſplendid action, beſide the reputation with hich it was attended, delivered France from an mminent danger, as it ruined the army with which uaſto had intended to invade the country between e Rhone and Saone, where there were neither rtified towns nor regular forces to oppoſe his rogreſs. But it was not in Francis's power to urſue the victory with ſuch vigour as to reap l the advantages which it might have yielded; for ough the Milaneſe remained now almoſt de- nceleſs; though the inhabitants, who had long urmured under the rigour of the Imperial go- rnment, were ready to throw off the yoke; ough Enguien, fluſhed with ſucceſs, urged the ing to ſeize this happy opportunity of recovering country, the acquiſition of which had been long s favourite object; yet, as the Emperor and ing of England were preparing to break in upon e oppoſite frontier of France with numerous ar- ies, it became neceſſary to ſacrifice all thoughts conqueſt to the public ſafety, and to recal

[c] Bellay, 429, &c. Memoires de Monluc. Jovii Hiſt. liv. p. 327. 6.

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1544. twelve thouſand of Enguien's beſt troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's ſubſequent operations were, of conſequence, ſo languid and inconſiderable, that the reduction of Carignan and ſome other towns in Piedmont, was all that he gained by his great victory at Ceriſoles [d].

Operations in the Low-Countries.

THE Emperor, as uſual, was late in taking the field, but he appeared, towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led againſt France. It amounted almoſt to fifty thouſand men, and part of it having reduced Luxembourg and ſome other towns in the Netherlands, before he himſelf joined it, he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of

June. Champagne. Charles, according to his agreement with the King of England, ought to have advanced directly towards Paris; and the Dauphin, who commanded the only army to which Francis truſted for the ſecurity of his dominions in that quarter, was in no condition to oppoſe him. But the ſucceſs with which the French had defended Provence in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, had taught them the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing an invading enemy. Champagne, a country abounding more in vines than corn, was incapable of maintaining a great army; and before the Emperor's approach, whatever could be

[d] Bellay, 438, &c.

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of any uſe to his troops had been carried off or deſtroyed. This rendered it neceſſary for him to be maſter of ſome places of ſtrength in order to ſecure the convoys, on which alone he now perceived that he muſt depend for ſubſiſtence; and he found the frontier towns ſo ill provided for defence, that he hoped it would not be a work either of much time or difficulty to reduce them. Accordingly Ligny and Commercy, which he firſt attacked, ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance. He then inveſted St. Diſier, which, though it commanded an important paſs on the Marne, was deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege. But the count de Sancerre and M. de la Lande, who had acquired ſuch reputation by the defence of Landrecy, generouſly threw themſelves into the town, and undertook to hold it out to the laſt extremity. The emperor ſoon found how capable they were of making good their promiſe, and that he could not expect to take the town without beſieging it in form. This accordingly he undertook; and as it was his nature never to abandon any enterpriſe in which he had once engaged, he perſiſted in it with an inconſiderate obſtinacy.

The Emperor inveſts St. Diſier. July 8.

The King of England's preparations for the campaign were complete long before the Emperor's; but as he did not chooſe, on the one hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops ſhould remain inactive, he took that oppor-

Henry VIII. inveſts Boulogne.

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1544. opportunity of chaſtiſing the Scots, by ſending his fleet, together with a conſiderable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commiſſion with vigour, plundered and burnt Edinburgh and Leith, laid waſte the adjacent country, and reimbarked his men with ſuch diſpatch that they joined their

July 14. ſovereign ſoon after his landing in France *. When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the Emperor engaged in the ſiege of St. Diſier; an ambaſſador, however, whom he ſent to congratulate the Engliſh Monarch on his ſafe arrival on the continent, ſolicited him to march, in terms of the treaty, directly to Paris. But Charles had ſet his ally ſuch an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactneſs, that Henry, obſerving him employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not attempt the reduction of ſome places that lay conveniently for himſelf. Without paying any regard to the Emperor's remonſtrances, he immediately inveſted Boulogne, and commanded the duke of Norfolk to preſs the ſiege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival, by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with ſome Engliſh troops. While Charles and Henry ſhewed ſuch attention each to his own intereſt, they both neglected the common cauſe. Inſtead of the union and confidence requiſite towards conducting the great plan that they had formed, they early

* Hiſt. Scotland, i. 112.

diſcovered

discovered a mutual jealousy of each other, which, by degrees, begot distrust, and ended in open hatred [e]. 1544.

Gallant defence of St. Disier.

By this time, Francis had, with unwearied industry, drawn together an army, capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head against the enemy. But the dauphin, who still acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loss of which would have endangered the kingdom, satisfied himself with harassing the Emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waste the country around him. Though extremely distressed by these operations, Charles still pressed the siege of St. Disier, which Sancerre defended with astonishing fortitude and conduct. He stood repeated assaults, repulsing the enemy in them all; and undismayed even by the death of his brave associate De la Lande, who was killed by a cannon-ball, he continued to shew the same bold countenance and obstinate resolution. At the end of five weeks, he was still in a condition to hold out some time longer, when an artifice of Granvelle's induced him to surrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cypher which the Duke of Guise used in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name, authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the King, though highly satisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter

[e] Herbert.

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he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raiſe no ſuſpicion, and the governor fell into the ſnare. Even then, he obtained ſuch honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others, a ceſſation of hoſtilities for eight days, at the expiration of which he bound himſelf to open the gates, if Francis, during that time, did not attack the Imperial army, and throw freſh troops into the town[f]. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the Emperor ſo long before an inconſiderable place, afforded his ſovereign full time to aſſemble all his forces, and what rarely falls to the lot of an officer in ſuch an inferior command, acquired the glory of having ſaved his country.

Auguſt 17. The Emperor penetrates into the heart of France.

As ſoon as St. Diſier ſurrendered, the Emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne, but Sancerre's obſtinate reſiſtance had damped his ſanguine hopes of penetrating to Paris, and led him ſeriouſly to reflect on what he might expect before towns of greater ſtrength, and defended by more numerous garriſons. At the ſame time, the procuring ſubſiſtence for his army was attended with great difficulty, which increaſed in proportion as he withdrew farther from his own frontier. He had loſt a great number of his beſt troops in the ſiege of St. Diſier, and many fell daily in ſkirmiſhes, which it was not in his power to avoid, though they waſted his army inſenſibly,

[f] Brantome, tom. vi. 489.

without

without leading to any deciſive action. The ſeaſon advanced apace, and he had not yet the command either of a ſufficient extent of territory, or of any ſuch conſiderable town as rendered it ſafe to winter in the enemy's country. Great arrears too were now due to his ſoldiers, who were upon the point of mutinying for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to ſatisfy them. All theſe conſiderations induced him to liſten to the overtures of peace, which a Spaniſh Dominican, the confeſſor of his ſiſter the Queen of France, had ſecretly made to his confeſſor, a monk of the ſame order. In conſequence of this, plenipotentiaries were named on both ſides, and began their conferences in Chauſſè, a ſmall village near Chalons. At the ſame time, Charles, either from a deſire of making one great final effort againſt France, or merely to gain a pretext for deſerting his ally, and concluding a ſeparate peace, ſent an ambaſſador formally to require Henry, according to the ſtipulation in their treaty, to advance towards Paris. While he expected a return from him, and waited the iſſue of the conferences at Chauſſè, he continued to march forward, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions. But at laſt, by a fortunate motion on his part, or through ſome neglect or treachery on that of the French, he ſurpriſed firſt Eſperney and then Chateau Thierry, in both which were conſiderable magazines. No ſooner was it known that theſe towns, the latter of which is not two days march from Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than that

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great capital, defenceleſs, and ſuſceptible of any violent alarm in proportion to its greatneſs, was filled with conſternation. The inhabitants, as if the Emperor had been already at their gates, fled in the wildeſt confuſion and deſpair, many ſending their wives and children down the Seine to Roüen, others to Orleans, and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himſelf, more afflicted with this than with any other event during his reign, and ſenſible as well of the triumph that his rival would enjoy in inſulting his capital, as of the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed, could not refrain from crying out, in the firſt emotion of his ſurpriſe and ſorrow, "How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadſt granted me freely[g]!" But recovering in a moment from this ſudden ſally of peeviſhneſs and impatience, he devoutly added, "Thy will, however, be done;" and proceeded to iſſue the neceſſary orders for oppoſing the enemy with his uſual activity and preſence of mind. The dauphin detached eight thouſand men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a ſtrong garriſon into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Fertè, between the Imperialiſts and the capital.

Obliged to retire.

UPON this, the Emperor, who began again to feel the want of proviſions, perceiving that the dauphin ſtill prudently declined a battle, and not

[g] Brantome, tom. vi. 381.

daring

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daring to attack his camp with forces ſo much ſhattered and reduced by hard ſervice, turned ſuddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soiſſons. Having about this time received Henry's anſwer, whereby he refuſed to abandon the ſieges of Boulogne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get poſſeſſion, he thought himſelf abſolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to conſult his own intereſt in what manner ſoever he pleaſed. He conſented, therefore, to renew the conference, which the ſurpriſe of Eſperney had broken off. To conclude a peace between two princes, one of whom greatly deſired, and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negociation. It was ſigned at Creſpy, a ſmall town near Meaux, on the eighteenth of September. The chief articles of it were, That all the conqueſts which either party had made ſince the truce of Nice ſhall be reſtored; That the Emperor ſhall give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldeſt daughter, or the ſecond daughter of his brother Ferdinand; That if he choſe to beſtow on him his own daughter, he ſhall ſettle on her all the provinces of the Low-Countries, to be erected into an independent ſtate, which ſhall deſcend to the male iſſue of the marriage; That if he determined to give him his niece, he ſhall, with her, grant him the inveſtiture of Milan and its dependencies; That he ſhall within four months declare which of theſe two Princeſſes he had pitched upon, and fulfil

Peace between him and Francis concluded at Creſpy.

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the reſpective conditions upon the conſummation of the marriage, which ſhall take place within a year from the date of the treaty; That as ſoon as the Duke of Orleans is put in poſſeſſion either of the Low-Countries or of Milan, Francis ſhall reſtore to the Duke of Savoy all that he now poſſeſſes of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmilian; That Francis ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, or to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles ſhall give up his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and county of Charolois; That Francis ſhall give no aid to the exiled King of Navarre; That both Monarchs ſhall join in making war upon the Turk, towards which the King ſhall furniſh, when required by the Emperor and Empire, ſix hundred men at arms, and ten thouſand foot [h].

Motives of concluding it.

BESIDES the immediate motives to this peace, ariſing from the diſtreſs of his army through want of proviſions; from the difficulty of retreating out of France, and the impoſſibility of ſecuring winter-quarters there; the Emperor was influenced by other conſiderations, more diſtant indeed, but not leſs weighty. The Pope was offended to a great degree, as well at his conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the late diet, as at his conſenting to call a council, and to admit of public diſputations in Germany with a view of

[h] Recueil des Traitez, t. i. 227. Belius de Cauſis Pacis Crepiac, in Actis Erudit. Lipſ. 1763.

deter-

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determining the doctrines in controverſy. Paul conſidering both theſe ſteps as ſacrilegious encroachments on the juriſdiction as well as privileges of the Holy See, had addreſſed to the Emperor a remonſtrance rather than a letter on this ſubject, written with ſuch acrimony of language, and in a ſtyle of ſuch high authority, as diſcovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a deſire to reclaim him. This ill humour was not a little inflamed by the Emperor's league with Henry of England, which being contracted with an heretic, excommunicated by the apoſtolic ſee, appeared to the Pope a profane alliance, and was not leſs dreaded by him than that of Francis with Solyman. Paul's ſon and grandſon, highly incenſed at the Emperor for having refuſed to gratify them with regard to the alienation of Parma and Placentia, contributed by their ſuggeſtions to ſour and diſguſt him ſtill more. To all which was added the powerful operation of the flattery and promiſes which Francis inceſſantly employed to gain him. Though from his deſire of maintaining a neutrality, the Pope had hitherto ſuppreſſed his own reſentment, had eluded the artifices of his own family, and reſiſted the ſolicitations of the French King, it was not ſafe to rely much on the ſteadineſs of a man whom his paſſions, his friends, and his intereſt combined to ſhake. The union of the Pope with France, Charles well knew, would inſtantly expoſe his dominions in Italy to be attacked. The Venetians, he foreſaw, would probably follow the example of a Pontiff, who was conſider-

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conſidered as a model of political wiſdom among the Italians; and thus, at a juncture when he felt himſelf hardly equal to the burden of the preſent war, he would be overwhelmed with the weight of a new confederacy againſt him[i]. At the ſame time, the Turks, almoſt unreſiſted, made ſuch progreſs in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the confines of the Auſtrian provinces[k]. Above all theſe, the extraordinary progreſs of the Proteſtant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the Princes of that profeſſion had entered, called for his immediate attention. Almoſt one half of Germany had revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; the fidelity of the reſt was much ſhaken; the nobility of Auſtria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exerciſe of religion[l]; the Bohemians, among whom ſome ſeeds of the doctrines of Huſs ſtill remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbiſhop of Cologne, with a zeal which is ſeldom found among eccleſiaſtics, had begun the reformation of his dioceſe; nor was it poſſible, unleſs ſome timely and effectual check were given to the ſpirit of innovation, to foreſee where it would end. He himſelf had been a witneſs, in the late diet, to the peremptory and deciſive tone which the Proteſtants had now aſſumed. He had ſeen how, from confidence in their number and union,

[i] P. Paul, 100. Pallavic. 163.
[k] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hung. 177.
[l] Sleid. 285.

they

they had forgotten the humble ſtyle of their firſt petitions, and had grown to ſuch boldneſs as openly to deſpiſe the Pope, and to ſhew no great reverence for the Imperial dignity itſelf. If, therefore, he wiſhed to maintain either the ancient religion or his own authority, and would not chooſe to dwindle into a mere nominal head of the Empire, ſome vigorous and ſpeedy effort was requiſite on his part, which could not be made during a war that required the greateſt exertion of his ſtrength againſt a foreign and powerful enemy.

SUCH being the Emperor's inducements to peace, he had the addreſs to frame the treaty of Creſpy ſo as to promote all the ends which he had in view. By coming to an agreement with Francis, he took from the Pope all proſpect of advantage in courting the friendſhip of that Monarch in preference to his. By the proviſo with regard to a war with the Turks, he not only deprived Solyman of a powerful ally, but turned the arms of that ally againſt him. By a private article, not inſerted in the treaty, that it might not raiſe any unſeaſonable alarm, he agreed with Francis that both ſhould exert all their influence and power in order to procure a general council, to aſſert its authority, and to exterminate the Proteſtant hereſy out of their dominions. This cut off all chance of aſſiſtance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King[m]; and left

[m] Seck. l. iii. 496.

their

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their ſolicitations, or his jealouſy of an ancient rival, ſhould hereafter tempt Francis to forget this engagement, he left him embarraſſed with a war againſt England, which would put it out of his power to take any conſiderable part in the affairs of Germany.

War continues between France and England.

HENRY, poſſeſſed at all times with an high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the moſt ſenſible manner, the neglect with which the Emperor had treated him in concluding a ſeparate peace. But the ſituation of his affairs was ſuch as ſomewhat alleviated the mortification which this occaſioned. For though he was obliged to recall

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the Duke of Norfolk from the ſiege of Montreuil, becauſe the Flemiſh troops received orders to retire, Boulogne had ſurrendered before the negociations at Creſpy were brought to an iſſue. While elated with vanity on account of this conqueſt, and inflamed with indignation againſt the Emperor, the ambaſſadors whom Francis ſent to make overtures of peace, found him too arrogant to grant what was moderate or equitable. His demands were indeed extravagant, and made in the tone of a conqueror; that Francis ſhould renounce his alliance with Scotland, and not only pay up the arrears of former debts, but reimburſe the money which Henry had expended in the preſent war. Francis, though ſincerely deſirous of peace, and willing to yield a great deal in order to obtain it, being now free from the preſſure of the Imperial arms, rejected theſe ignominious propoſitions

with

with disdain; and Henry departing for England, hostilities continued between the two nations[n]. 1544.

The dauphin dissatisfied with the peace of Crespy.

The treaty of peace, how acceptable soever to the people of France, whom it delivered from the dread of an enemy who had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, was loudly complained of by the dauphin. He considered it as a manifest proof of the King his father's extraordinary partiality towards his younger brother, now Duke of Orleans, and complained that, from his eagerness to gain an establishment for a favourite son, he had sacrificed the honour of the kingdom, and renounced the most ancient as well as valuable rights of the crown. But as he durst not venture to offend the King by refusing to ratify it, though extremely desirous at the same time of securing to himself the privilege of reclaiming what was now alienated so much to his detriment, he secretly protested, in presence of some of his adherents, against the whole transaction; and declared whatever he should be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itself, and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thoulouse, probably by the instigation of his partisans, did the same[o]. But Francis, highly pleased as well with having delivered his subjects from the miseries of an invasion, as with the prospect of acquiring an independent settlement for his son at no greater price than that

[n] Mem. de Ribier, t. i. p. 572. Herbert, 244.

[o] Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 235. 238.

of

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of renouncing conqueſts to which he had no juſt claim; titles which had brought ſo much expence and ſo many diſaſters upon the nation; and rights grown obſolete and of no value; ratified the treaty with great joy. Charles, within the time preſcribed by the treaty, declared his intention of giving Ferdinand's daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, together with the dutchy of Milan as her dowry [p]. Every circumſtance ſeemed to promiſe the continuance of peace. The Emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterpriſe where great activity was requiſite, or much fatigue to be endured. He himſelf felt this, or wiſhed at leaſt that it ſhould be believed; and being ſo much diſabled by this excruciating diſtemper, when a French ambaſſador followed him to Bruſſels, in order to be preſent at his ratification of the treaty of peace, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he ſigned his name, he obſerved, that there was no great danger of his violating theſe articles, as a hand that could hardly hold a pen, was little able to brandiſh a lance.

The Emperor's ſchemes with reſpect to Germany.

THE violence of his diſeaſe confined the Emperor ſeveral months in Bruſſels, and was the apparent cauſe of putting off the execution of the great ſcheme which he had formed in order to humble the Proteſtant party in Germany. But there were other reaſons for this delay. For,

[p] Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 238.

however

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however prevalent the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprise, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the situation of his own affairs, made it necessary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not too suddenly to throw aside the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real sentiments and schemes. He was sensible that the Protestants, conscious of their own strength, but under continual apprehensions of his designs, had all the boldness of a powerful confederacy joined to the jealousy of a feeble faction; and were no less quick-sighted to discern the first appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the same time, he still continued involved in a Turkish war; and though, in order to deliver himself from this incumbrance, he had determined to send an envoy to the Porte with most advantageous and even submissive overtures of peace, the resolutions of that haughty court were so uncertain, that before these were known, it would have been highly imprudent to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

The Pope summons a general council to meet at Trent, Nov. 19.

Upon this account, he appeared dissatisfied with a bull issued by the Pope immediately after the peace of Crespy, summoning the council to assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhorting all Christian Princes to embrace the opportunity that the present happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of suppressing those heresies which threatened to

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1544. subvert whatever was ſacred or venerable among Chriſtians. But after ſuch a ſlight expreſſion of diſlike, as was neceſſary in order to cover his deſigns, he determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconſiderable inſtrument towards accompliſhing his projects, and therefore not only appointed ambaſſadors to appear there in his name, but ordered the eccleſiaſtics in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed [q].

1545. Diet at Worms, March 24. SUCH were the Emperor's views, when the Imperial diet, after ſeveral prorogations, was opened at Worms. The Proteſtants, who enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion by a very precarious tenure, having no other ſecurity for it than the receſs of the laſt diet, which was to continue in force only until the meeting of a council, wiſhed earneſtly to eſtabliſh that important privilege upon ſome firmer baſis, and to hold it by a perpetual not a temporary title. But inſtead of offering them any additional ſecurity, Ferdinand opened the diet with obſerving, that there were two points, which chiefly required conſideration, the proſecution of the war againſt the Turks, and the ſtate of religion; that the former was the moſt urgent, as Solyman, after conquering the greateſt part of Hungary, was now ready to fall upon the Auſtrian provinces; that the Emperor, who, from the beginning of his reign, had neglected no op-

[q] F. Paul, 104.

portunity

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portunity of annoying this formidable enemy, and with the hazard of his own perſon had reſiſted his attacks, being animated ſtill with the ſame zeal, had now conſented to ſtop ſhort in the career of his ſucceſs againſt France, that, in conjunction with his ancient rival, he might turn his arms with greater vigour againſt the common adverſary of the Chriſtian faith; that it became all the members of the Empire to ſecond thoſe pious endeavours of its head; that, therefore, they ought, without delay, to vote him ſuch effectual aid as not only their duty but their intereſt called upon them to furniſh; that the controverſies about religion were ſo intricate, and of ſuch difficult diſcuſſion, as to give no hope of its being poſſible to bring them at preſent to any final iſſue; that by perſeverance and repeated ſolicitations the Emperor had at length prevailed on the Pope to call a council, for which they had ſo often wiſhed and petitioned; that the time appointed for its meeting was now come, and both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and ſubmit to them as the deciſions of the univerſal church.

Ferdinand requires the Germans to acknowledge the council.

The popiſh members of the diet received this declaration with great applauſe, and ſignified their entire acquieſcence in every particular which it contained. The Proteſtants expreſſed great ſurpriſe at propoſitions, which were ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the receſs of the former diet; they inſiſted that the queſtions with regard to religion, as firſt in dignity and importance, ought to come

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1545. firſt under deliberation; that, alarming as the progreſs of the Turks was to all Germany, the ſecuring the free exerciſe of their religion touched them ſtill more nearly, nor could they proſecute a foreign war with ſpirit, while ſolicitous and uncertain about their domeſtic tranquillity; that if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in puſhing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But if the danger from the Turkiſh arms was indeed ſo imminent, as not to admit of ſuch a delay as would be occaſioned by an immediate examination of the controverted points in religion, they required that a diet ſhould be inſtantly appointed, to which the final ſettlement of their religious diſputes ſhould be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion ſhould be explained in a point which they deemed eſſential. By the receſs of Spires it was provided, that they ſhould enjoy unmoleſted the public exerciſe of their religion, until the meeting of a legal council; but as the Pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to ſubmit, they began to ſuſpect that their adverſaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the receſs, and pretending that the event therein mentioned had now taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the ſame indulgence. In order to guard againſt this interpretation, they renewed their former remonſtrances againſt a council called to meet without the bounds of the

Empire,

Empire, ſummoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding; and declared that, notwithſtanding the convocation of any ſuch illegal aſſembly, they ſtill held the receſs of the late diet to be in full force. 1545.

Emperor arrives at Worms.

At other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to ſooth and gain the Proteſtants, he had deviſed expedients for giving them ſatisfaction with regard to demands ſeemingly more extravagant; but his views at preſent being very different, Ferdinand, by his command, adhered inflexibly to his firſt propoſitions, and would make no conceſſions, which had the moſt remote tendency to throw diſcredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The Proteſtants, on their part, were no leſs inflexible; and after much time ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to convince each other, they came to no agreement. Nor did the preſence of the Emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Proteſtants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cauſe of God and of truth, they ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the allurements of intereſt, or the ſuggeſtions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his ſolicitations, or diſcovered his deſigns, their boldneſs ſeems to have increaſed. At laſt they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in preſence of a council, aſſembled not to examine, but to condemn them; and that they would pay no regard

May 15.

The Proteſtants diſclaim all connexion with the council of Trent.

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to an assembly held under the influence of a Pope, who had already precluded himself from all title to act as a judge, by his having stigmatized their opinions with the name of heresy, and denounced against them the heaviest censures, which, in the plenitude of his usurped power, he could inflict[r].

Conduct of Maurice of Saxony in this diet.

While the Protestants, with such union as well as firmness, rejected all intercourse with the council, and refused their assent to the Imperial demands in respect to the Turkish war, Maurice of Saxony alone shewed an inclination to gratify the Emperor with regard to both. Though he professed an inviolable regard for the Protestant religion, he assumed an appearance of moderation peculiar to himself, by which he confirmed the favourable sentiments which the Emperor already entertained of him, and gradually paved the way for executing the ambitious designs which always occupied his active and enterprising mind[s]. His example, however, had little influence upon such as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure present aid from the Protestants against the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealousies on account of their religion. But, as his schemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations so far advanced that he could force

[r] Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 543, &c. Thuan. Histor. lib. ii. p. 56.

[s] Seck. iii. 571.

the

the compliance of the Proteſtants, or puniſh their obſtinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions. That he might augment their ſecurity, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratiſbon early next year, in order to adjuſt what was now left undetermined; and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party ſhould meet, in order to confer upon the points in diſpute [t].

1545. Auguſt 4.

The Proteſtants begin to ſuſpect the Emperor.

But, how far ſoever this appearance of a deſire to maintain the preſent tranquillity might have impoſed upon the Proteſtants, the Emperor was incapable of ſuch uniform and thorough diſſimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous deſigns which he was meditating againſt them. Herman count de Wied, Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologne, a prelate conſpicuous for his virtue and primitive ſimplicity of manners, though not more diſtinguiſhed for learning than the other deſcendants of noble families, who in that age poſſeſſed moſt of the great benefices in Germany, having become a proſelyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-three, with the aſſiſtance of Melancthon and Bucer, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtition in his dioceſe, and to introduce in its place the rites eſtabliſhed among the Proteſtants. But the canons of his cathedral, who were not poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit of innovation, and who foreſaw how fatal

[t] Sleid. 351.

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the levelling genius of the new ſect would prove to their dignity and wealth, oppoſed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterpriſe of their Archbiſhop, with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old inſtitutions, heightened by concern for their own intereſt. This oppoſition, which the Archbiſhop conſidered only as a new argument to demonſtrate the neceſſity of a reformation, neither ſhook his reſolution, nor ſlackened his ardour in proſecuting his plan. The canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, ſolemnly proteſted againſt his proceedings, and appealed for redreſs to the Pope and Emperor, the former as his eccleſiaſtical, the latter as his civil ſuperior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his reſidence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour againſt all who revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; prohibited the Archbiſhop to make any innovation in his dioceſe; and ſummoned him to appear at Bruſſels within thirty days, to anſwer the accuſations which ſhould be preferred againſt him [u].

To this clear evidence of his hoſtile intentions againſt the Proteſtant party, Charles added other proofs ſtill more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low-Countries, he perſecuted all who were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm with unrelenting

[u] Sleid. 310. 340. 351. Seckend. iii. 443. 553.

ing rigour. As ſoon as he arrived at Worms, he ſilenced the Proteſtant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh againſt the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that peſtilent hereſy. He diſpatched the embaſſy, which has been already mentioned, to Conſtantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehenſions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of theſe ſteps, or their dangerous tendency, eſcape the jealous obſervation of the Proteſtants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their ſolicitude for the ſafety of their ſect.

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Death of the Duke of Orleans.

MEANWHILE, Charles's good fortune, which predominated on all occaſions over that of his rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty, from which, with all his ſagacity and addreſs, he would have found it no eaſy matter to have diſentangled himſelf. Juſt about the time when the Duke of Orleans ſhould have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, he died of a malignant fever. By this event, the Emperor was freed from the neceſſity of giving up a valuable province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and ſolemn engagement, which muſt have occaſioned an immediate rupture with France. He affected, however, to expreſs great ſorrow for the untimely death of a young Prince, who was to have been

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ſo nearly allied to him; but he carefully avoided entering into any freſh diſcuſſions concerning the Milaneſe; and would not liſten to a propoſal which came from Francis of new-modelling the treaty of Creſpy, ſo as to make him ſome reparation for the advantages which he had loſt by the demiſe of his ſon. In the more active and vigorous part of Francis's reign, a declaration of war would have been the certain and inſtantaneous conſequence of ſuch a flat refuſal to comply with a demand ſeemingly ſo equitable; but the declining ſtate of his own health, the exhauſted condition of his kingdom, together with the burden of the war againſt England, obliged him, at preſent, to diſſemble his reſentment, and to put off thoughts of revenge to ſome other juncture. In conſequence of this event, the unfortunate Duke of Savoy loſt all hope of obtaining the reſtitution of his territories; and the rights or claims relinquiſhed by the treaty of Creſpy, returned in full force to the crown of France, to ſerve as pretexts for future wars [x].

The Pope grants the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to his ſon.

UPON the firſt intelligence of the Duke of Orleans's death, the confederates of Smalkalde flattered themſelves that the eſſential alterations which appeared to be unavoidable conſequences of it could hardly fail of producing a rupture, which would prove the means of their ſafety. But they were not more diſappointed with regard to this, than in their

[x] Belcarii Comment. 769. Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv. p. 177.

expect-

expectations from an event which ſeemed to be the certain prelude of a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. When Paul, whoſe paſſion for aggrandizing his family increaſed as he advanced in years, and as he ſaw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, found that he could not bring Charles to approve of his ambitious ſchemes, he ventured to grant his ſon Peter Lewis the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, though at the riſk of incurring the diſpleaſure of the Emperor. At a time when a great part of Europe inveighed openly againſt the corrupt manners and exorbitant power of Eccleſiaſtics, and when a council was ſummoned to reform the diſorders in the church, this indecent grant of ſuch a principality, to a ſon of whoſe illegitimate birth the Pope ought to have been aſhamed, and whoſe licentious morals all good men deteſted, gave general offence. Some Cardinals in the Imperial intereſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch an unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the church; the Spaniſh ambaſſador would not be preſent at the ſolemnity of his infeofment; and upon pretext that theſe cities were part of the Milaneſe ſtate, the Emperor peremptorily refuſed to confirm the deed of inveſtiture. But both the Emperor and Pope being intent upon one common object in Germany, they ſacrificed their particular paſſions to that public cauſe, and ſuppreſſed the emotions of jealouſy or reſentment which were riſing on this occaſion, that

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that they might jointly purſue what each deemed to be of greater importance[y].

Henry of Brunſwick kindles a war in Germany.

About this time the peace of Germany was diſturbed by a violent but ſhort eruption of Henry Duke of Brunſwick. This Prince, though ſtill ſtript of his dominions, which the Emperor held in ſequeſtration, until his differences with the confederates of Smalkalde ſhould be adjuſted, poſſeſſed however ſo much credit in Germany, that he undertook to raiſe for the French King a conſiderable body of troops to be employed in the war againſt England. The money ſtipulated for this purpoſe was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, inſtead of leading them towards France, ſuddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering poſſeſſion of them before any army could be aſſembled to oppoſe him. The confederates were not more ſurpriſed at this unexpected attack, than the King of France was aſtoniſhed at a mean thieviſh fraud, ſo unbecoming the character of a Prince. But the Landgrave of Heſſe, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a ſtop to the progreſs of Henry's undiſciplined forces, and being joined by his ſon-in-law, Maurice, and by ſome troops belonging to the Elector of Saxony, he gained ſuch advantages over Henry, who was raſh and bold in forming his ſchemes, but feeble

[y] Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv. 178. Pallavic. 180.

and

and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to disband his army, and to surrender himself, together with his eldest son, prisoners at discretion. He was kept in close confinement, until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty [z]. 1546.

The Reformation of the Palatinate.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprise added new reputation to the arms of the Protestants, the establishment of the Protestant religion in the Palatinate brought a great accession of strength to their party. Frederick, who succeeded his brother Lewis in that Electorate, had long been suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrines of the Reformers, which, upon his accession to the principality, he openly manifested. But as he expected that something effectual towards a general and legal establishment of religion, would be the fruit of so many diets, conferences, and negociations, he did not, at first, attempt any public innovation in his dominions. Finding all these issue in nothing, he thought himself called, at length, to countenance by his authority the system which he approved of, and to gratify the wishes of his subjects, who, by their intercourse with the Protestant states, had almost universally imbibed their opinions. As the warmth and impetuosity which accompanied the spirit of Reformation in its first efforts, had somewhat abated, this change was made with great order and regularity; the ancient rites were abolished, and new forms introduced, without any acts of violence, or Jan. 10.

[z] Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 567.

symptom

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ſymptom of diſcontent. Though Frederick adopted the religious ſyſtem of the Proteſtants, he imitated the example of Maurice, and did not accede to the league of Smalkalde [a].

The council aſſembles at Trent.

A FEW weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accuſtomed ſolemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholic ſtates were turned with much expectation towards an aſſembly, which all had conſidered as capable of applying an effectual remedy for the diſorders of the church when they firſt broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being ſuffered to increaſe during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to ſuch extreme violence. The Pope, by his laſt bull of convocation, had appointed the firſt meeting to be held in March. But his views, and thoſe of the Emperor, were ſo different, that almoſt the whole year was ſpent in negociations. Charles, who foreſaw that the rigorous decrees of the council againſt the Proteſtants would ſoon drive them, in ſelf-defence as well as from reſentment, to ſome deſperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were ſo far advanced, that he might be in a condition to ſecond its deciſions by the force of his arms. The Pope, who had early ſent to Trent the legates who were to

[a] Sleid. 356. Seck. l. iii. 616.

preſide

preſide in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expoſe his authority, and what ſuſpicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council ſhould remain in a ſtate of inactivity, when the church was in ſuch danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interpoſition, inſiſted either upon tranſlating the council to ſome city in Italy, or upon ſuſpending altogether its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorizing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former expedients as equally offenſive to the Germans of every denomination; but finding it impoſſible to elude the latter, he propoſed that the council ſhould begin with reforming the diſorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded moſt, and which had prompted it to employ ſo many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of ſuch a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than ſome of his predeceſſors with regard to calling a council, was no leſs jealous than they had been of its juriſdiction, and ſaw what matter of triumph ſuch a method of proceeding would afford the heretics. He apprehended conſequences not only humbling but fatal to the papal ſee, if the council came to conſider an inqueſt into abuſes as their only buſineſs; or if inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peeviſhneſs, by preſcribing rules to thoſe who were exalted above them in dignity and power.

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power. Without liſtening, therefore, to this inſidious propoſal of the Emperor, he inſtructed his legates to open the council.

Jan. 18. Its proceedings.

THE firſt ſeſſion was ſpent in matters of form. In a ſubſequent one, it was agreed that the framing a confeſſion of faith, wherein ſhould be contained all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the firſt and principal buſineſs of the council; but that, at the ſame time, due attention ſhould be given to what was neceſſary towards the reformation of manners and diſcipline. From this firſt ſymptom of the ſpirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who preſided in it aſſumed, and from the implicit deference with which moſt of the members followed their directions, the Proteſtants conjectured with eaſe what deciſions they might expect. It aſtoniſhed them, however, to ſee forty prelates (for no greater number were yet aſſembled) aſſume authority as repreſentatives of the univerſal church, and proceed to determine the moſt important points of doctrine in its name. Senſible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced ſlowly in its deliberations, and all its proceedings were for ſome time languiſhing and feeble [b]. As ſoon as the confederates of Smalkalde received inform-

[b] F. Paul, 120, &c. Pallavic. p. 180, &c.

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ation of the opening of the council, they publiſhed a long manifeſto, containing a renewal of their proteſt againſt its meeting, together with the reaſons which induced them to decline its juriſdictions[c]. The Pope and Emperor, on their part, were ſo little ſolicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly diſcovered that ſome object of greater importance occupied and intereſted them.

Apprehenſions of the Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants were not inattentive or unconcerned ſpectators of the motions of the ſovereign Pontiff and of Charles, and they entertained every day more violent ſuſpicions of their intentions, in conſequence of intelligence received from different quarters of the machinations carrying on againſt them. The King of England informed them, that the Emperor having long reſolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the moſt favourable juncture for carrying his deſign into execution. The merchants of Augſburg, which was at that time a city of extenſive trade, received advice, by means of their correſpondents in Italy, among whom were ſome who ſecretly favoured the Proteſtant cauſe[d], that a dangerous confederacy againſt it was forming between the Pope and Emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard from the Low-Countries that Charles had iſſued orders, though with every precaution which could

[c] Seckend. l. iii. 602, &c. [d] Seck. l. iii. 579.

keep

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keep the meaſure concealed, for raiſing troops both there and in other parts of his dominions. Such a variety of information, corroborating all that their own jealouſy or obſervation led them to apprehend, left the Proteſtants little reaſon to doubt of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions. Under this impreſſion, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde aſſembled at Francfort, and by communicating their intelligence and ſentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their ſenſe of the impending danger. But their union was not ſuch as their ſituation required, or the preparations of their enemies rendered neceſſary. Their league had now ſubſiſted ten years. Among ſo many members, whoſe territories were intermingled with each other, and who, according to the cuſtom of Germany, had created an infinite variety of mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, alliances, and contracts of different kinds, ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcord had unavoidably ariſen. Some of the confederates, being connected with the Duke of Brunſwick, were highly diſguſted with the Landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that raſh and unfortunate Prince. Others taxed the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unneceſſary and exorbitant expences by their profuſeneſs or want of œconomy. The views, likewiſe, and temper of thoſe two Princes, who, by their ſuperior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body, being extremely different, rendered all its motions

Their deliberations.

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tions languid, at a time when the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch were requiſite. The Landgrave, of a violent and enterpriſing temper, but not forgetful, amidſt his zeal for religion, of the uſual maxims of human policy, inſiſted that, as the danger which threatened them was manifeſt and unavoidable, they ſhould have recourſe to the moſt effectual expedient for ſecuring their own ſafety, by courting the protection of the Kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the Proteſtant cantons of Swiſſerland, from whom they might expect ſuch powerful and preſent aſſiſtance as their ſituation demanded. The Elector, on the other hand, with the moſt upright intentions of any Prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the adminiſtration of government in any tranquil period, was poſſeſſed with ſuch ſuperſtitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran ſyſtem, and ſuch bigoted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averſe to an union with thoſe who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He ſeemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated by principles and maxims totally different from thoſe which apply to the common affairs of life; and being ſwayed too much by the opinions of Luther, who was not only a ſtranger to the rules of political conduct, but deſpiſed them; he often diſcovered an uncomplying ſpirit, that proved of the greateſt detriment to the cauſe which he wiſhed to ſupport. Influenced, on this occa-

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sion, by the severe and rigid notions of that Reformer, he refused to enter into any confederacy with Francis, because he was a persecutor of the truth; or to solicit the friendship of Henry, because he was no less impious and profane than the Pope himself; or even to join in alliance with the Swiss, because they differed from the Germans in several essential articles of faith. This dissension, about a point of such consequence, produced its natural effects. Each secretly censured and reproached the other. The Landgrave considered the Elector as fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of a Prince called to act a chief part in a scene of such importance. The Elector suspected the Landgrave of loose principles and ambitious views, which corresponded ill with the sacred cause wherein they were engaged. But though the Elector's scruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealousy or discontent of the other Princes defeated a proposal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the sense of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the assembly of Trent as a lawful council, nor suffer the archbishop of Cologne to be oppressed on account of the steps which he had taken towards the reformation of his diocese [c].

[c] Seck. l. iii. 566. 576. 613. Sleid. 355.

THE

1546 Their negociations with the Emperor.

THE Landgrave, about this time, desirous of penetrating to the bottom of the Emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his master's schemes, informing him of the several particulars which raised the suspicions of the Protestants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, assured them, that the intelligence which they had received of the Emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their suspicions destitute of foundation; that though, in order to guard his frontiers against any insult of the French or English, he had commanded a small body of men to be raised in the Low-Countries, he was as solicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany [f].

BUT the Emperor's actions did not correspond with these professions of his minister. For, instead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own system with a blind obstinacy, that rendered all hope of a reconcilement desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took upon him the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastic metaphysician, more studious to perplex his

[f] Sleid. 356.

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adverſaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on diſcovering truth. The Proteſtants, filled with indignation, as well at his ſophiſtry as at ſome regulations which the Emperor endeavoured to impoſe on the diſputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that, in all his late meaſures, the Emperor could have no other view than to amuſe them, and to gain time for ripening his own ſchemes[z].

[z] Sleid. 358. Seck. l. iii. 620.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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WHILE appearances of danger daily increaſed, and the tempeſt which had been ſo long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence againſt the Proteſtant church, Luther was ſaved, by a ſeaſonable death, from feeling or beholding its deſtructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining ſtate of health, and during a rigorous ſeaſon, to his native city of Eyſleben, in order to compoſe, by his authority, a diſſenſion among the counts of Mansfield, he was ſeized with a violent inflammation in his ſtomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age. As he was raiſed up by Providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt intereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon perhaps whoſe cha-

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racter has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian church, aſcribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure or the exaggerated praiſe of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own ſyſtem, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied induſtry in propagating them, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added, with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a Reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſidera-

His character.

tions, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouſed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out, on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth

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againſt ſuch as diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which by putting continual reſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety, and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear leſs ſhocking than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

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In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it was addressed. A spirit more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers which he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest Monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accom-

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accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt *.

Some time before his death he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſides the compoſition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future life, of which he ſpoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter

* A remarkable inſtance of this, as well as of a certain ſingularity and elevation of ſentiment, is found in his Laſt Will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconſiderable, he thought it neceſſary to make a Teſtament, but ſcorned to frame it with the uſual legal formalities. Notus ſum, ſays he, in cœlo, in terra, & inferno, & auctoritatem ad hoc ſufficientem habeo, ut mihi ſoli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miſerabili peccatori, ex paterna miſericordia Evangelium filii ſui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax & fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, & me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, ſpreto banno Papæ, Cæſaris, Regum, Principum & ſacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad diſpoſitionem hanc, in re exigua, ſufficiat, ſi adſit manus meæ teſtimonium, & dici poſſit, hæc ſcripſit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, & teſtis Evangelii ejus. Sec. l. iii. p. 651.

ſoon

ſoon upon the enjoyment of it [a]. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand which had firſt planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife Catherine a Boria, who ſurvived him. Towards the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendants in decent and honourable ſtations [b]. 1546.

The Emperor endeavours to amuſe and deceive the Proteſtants.

The Emperor, meanwhile, purſued the plan of diſſimulation with which he had ſet out, employing every art to amuſe the Proteſtants, and to quiet their fears and jealouſies. For this purpoſe he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Heſſe, the moſt active of all the confederates, and the moſt ſuſpicious of his deſigns. To him he made ſuch warm profeſſions of his concern for the happineſs of Germany, and of his averſion to all violent meaſures; he denied in ſuch expreſs terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which ſhould give any juſt cauſe of alarm to the Proteſtants, as ſeem to have diſpelled all the Landgrave's doubts and apprehenſions, and ſent him March 28.

[a] Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.
[b] Seck. l. iii. 651.

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away fully ſatisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually anſwered the purpoſe for which it was employed. The Landgrave, upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were aſſembled, and gave them ſuch a flattering repreſentation of the Emperor's favourable diſpoſition towards them, that they, who were too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation, as from the genius of all great aſſociations or bodies of men, to be ſlow, and dilatory, and undeciſive in their deliberations, thought there was no neceſſity of taking any immediate meaſures againſt danger, which appeared to be diſtant or imaginary [c].

Proceedings of the council againſt the Proteſtants.

SUCH events, however, ſoon occurred, as ſtaggered the credit which the Proteſtants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though ſtill compoſed of a ſmall number of Italian and Spaniſh prelates, without a ſingle deputy from many of the kingdoms which it aſſumed a right of binding by its decrees, being aſhamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to ſettle articles of the greateſt importance. Having begun with examining the firſt and chief point in controverſy between the church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which ſhould be held as ſupreme and deciſive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, deter-

[c] Sleid. Hiſt. 367. 373.

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mined, "That the books to which the deſignation of *Apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with thoſe which were received by the Jews and primitive Chriſtians into the ſacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apoſtolic age, and preſerved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inſpired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin tranſlation of the Scriptures, made or reviſed by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* tranſlation, ſhould be read in churches, and appealed to in the ſchools as authentic and canonical." Againſt all who diſclaimed the truth of theſe tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghoſt. The deciſion of theſe points, which undermined the main foundation of the Lutheran ſyſtem, was a plain warning to the Proteſtants what judgment they might expect when the council ſhould have leiſure to take into conſideration the particular and ſubordinate articles of their creed [d].

THIS diſcovery of the council's readineſs to condemn the opinions of the Proteſtants, was ſoon followed by a ſtriking inſtance of the Pope's reſolution to puniſh ſuch as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne againſt their Archbiſhop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly ſeized on that opportunity, both of diſ-

[d] F. Paul, 141. Pallav. 206.

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playing the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German eccleſiaſtics the danger of revolting from the eſtabliſhed church. As no perſon appeared in behalf of the Archbiſhop, he was held to be convicted of the crime of hereſy, and a Papal bull was iſſued, depriving him of his eccleſiaſtical dignity, inflicting on him the ſentence of excommunication, and abſolving his ſubjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as their civil ſuperior. The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran hereſy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reaſon aſſigned to juſtify the extraordinary ſeverity of this decree. The Proteſtants could hardly believe that Paul, how zealous ſoever he might be to defend the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, or to humble thoſe who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt a Prince and Elector of the Empire, without having previouſly ſecured ſuch powerful protection as would render his cenſure ſomething more than an impotent and deſpicable ſally of reſentment. They were of courſe deeply alarmed at this ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, conſidering it as a ſure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor, againſt the whole party [d].

April 16.

Charles about to commence hoſtilities againſt the Proteſtants.

UPON this freſh revival of their fears, with ſuch violence as is natural to men rouſed from a

[d] Sleid. 354. F. Paul, 155. Pallavic. 224.

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falſe ſecurity, and conſcious of their having been deceived, Charles ſaw that now it became neceſſary to throw aſide the maſk, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long ſeries of artifice and fallacy, he had gained ſo much time, that his meaſures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardneſs. The Pope, by his proceedings againſt the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the decrees of the council, had precipitated matters into ſuch a ſituation, as rendered a breach between the Emperor and the Proteſtants almoſt unavoidable. Charles had therefore no choice left him, but either to take part with them in overturning what the See of Rome had determined, or to ſupport the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it enough to have brought the Emperor under a neceſſity of acting; he preſſed him to begin his operations immediately, and to carry them on with ſuch vigour as could not fail of ſecuring ſucceſs. Tranſported by his zeal againſt hereſy, Paul forgot all the prudent and cautious maxims of the Papal See, with regard to the danger of extending the Imperial authority beyond due bounds; and in order to cruſh the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raiſing up a maſter that might one day prove formidable to himſelf as well as to the reſt of Italy.

Negociates with the Pope.

But, beſides the certain expectation of aſſiſtance from the Pope, Charles was now ſecure from any

Concludes a truce with Solyman.

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any danger of interruption to his deſigns by the Turkiſh arms. His negociations at the Porte, which he had carried on with great aſſiduity ſince the peace of Creſpy, were on the point of being terminated in ſuch a manner as he deſired. Soly-man, partly in compliance with the French King, who, in order to avoid the diſagreeable obliga-tion of joining the Emperor againſt his ancient ally, laboured with great zeal to bring about an accommodation between them, and partly from its being neceſſary to turn his arms towards the eaſt, where the Perſians threatened to invade his dominions, conſented without difficulty to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, That each ſhould retain poſſeſſion of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand, as a ſacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute of fifty thouſand crowns [e].

Gains Mau-rice, and other Princes in Germany.

But it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themſelves that the Emperor relied with the greateſt confidence. The Germanic body, he knew, was of ſuch vaſt ſtrength, as to be in-vincible if it were united, and that it was only by employing its own force that he could hope to ſubdue it. Happily for him, the union of the ſeveral members in this great ſyſtem was ſo feeble, the whole frame was ſo looſely compacted, and its different parts tended ſo violently towards ſe-

[e] Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hun. 180. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 582.

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paration from each other, that it was almoſt impoſſible for it, on any important emergence, to join in a general or vigorous effort. In the preſent juncture, the ſources of diſcord were as many, and as various, as had been known on any occaſion. The Roman Catholics, animated with zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceneſs with which it had been attacked, were eager to ſecond any attempt to humble thoſe innovators, who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as ſeveral other Princes, incenſed at the haughtineſs and rigour with which the Duke of Brunſwick had been treated by the confederates of Smalkalde, were impatient to reſcue him, and to be revenged on them. Charles obſerved, with ſatisfaction, the working of thoſe paſſions in their minds, and counting on them as ſure auxiliaries whenever he ſhould think it proper to act, he found it, in the mean time, more neceſſary to moderate than to inflame their rage.

Holds a diet at Ratiſbon.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, ſuch the diſcernment with which the Emperor foreſaw and provided for every event, when the diet of the Empire met at Ratiſbon. Many of the Roman Catholic members appeared there in perſon, but moſt of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of being unable to bear the expence occaſioned by the late unneceſſary frequency of ſuch aſſem-

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assemblies, sent only deputies. Their jealousy of the Emperor, together with an apprehension that violence might, perhaps, be employed, in order to force their approbation of what he should propose in the diet, was the true cause of their absence. The speech with which the Emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body, and declaring, that, in order to bestow his whole attention upon the re-establishment of its order and tranquillity, he had at present abandoned all other cares, rejected the most pressing solicitations of his other subjects to reside among them, and postponed affairs of the greatest importance; he took notice, with some disapprobation, that his disinterested example had not been imitated; many members of chief consideration having neglected to attend an assembly to which he had repaired with such manifest inconvenience to himself. He then mentioned their unhappy dissensions about religion; lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them; complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the best and most effectual method of restoring union to the churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement in articles of faith, which their ancestors had found to be of no less advantage to their civil interest, than becoming their Christian profession.

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By this gracious and popular method of conſulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, beſides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much reſpect to their judgment, the Emperor dexterouſly avoided diſcovering his own ſentiments, and reſerved to himſelf, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they ſhould recommend. Nor was he leſs ſecure of ſuch a deciſion as he wiſhed to obtain, by referring it wholly to themſelves. The Roman Catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in repreſenting that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be ſupreme in all matters of controverſy; that all Chriſtians ſhould ſubmit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they beſought him to exert the power, with which he was inveſted by the Almighty, in protecting that aſſembly, and in compelling the Proteſtants to acquieſce in its determinations. The Proteſtants, on the other hand, preſented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they propoſed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in diſpute, that either a free general council ſhould be aſſembled in Germany, or a national council of the Empire ſhould be called, or a ſelect number of divines ſhould be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith. They mentioned the receſſes of ſeveral diets favourable to this propoſition, and

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which had afforded them the proſpect of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan, and by offering violence to their conſciences, to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which muſt fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper with a contemptuous ſmile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final reſolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquieſce in it, he diſpatched the Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpoſe in the Low-Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commiſſions to ſeveral officers for raiſing men in different parts of the Empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themſelves, in order to reſcue their ally, Henry of Brunſwick, from captivity [f].

June 9.

The Proteſtants alarmed.

ALL theſe things could not be tranſacted without the obſervation and knowledge of the Proteſtants. The ſecret was now in many hands; under whatever veil the Emperor ſtill affected to conceal his deſigns, his officers kept no ſuch myſterious reſerve; and his allies and ſubjects ſpoke out his intentions plainly. Alarmed with reports

[f] Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

of

of this kind from every quarter, as well as with the preparations for war which they could not but obſerve, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the Emperor, and, in the name of their maſters, required to know whether theſe military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end, and againſt what enemy? To a queſtion put in ſuch a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was neceſſary to give an explicit anſwer. Charles owned the orders which he had iſſued, and profeſſing his purpoſe not to moleſt on account of religion thoſe who ſhould act as dutiful ſubjects; declared, that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity, and, by puniſhing ſome factious members, to preſerve the ancient conſtitution of the Empire from being impaired or diſſolved by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the Emperor did not name the perſons whom he charged with ſuch high crimes, and deſtined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe in view. Their deputies conſidering what he had ſaid, as a plain declaration of his hoſtile intentions, immediately retired from Ratiſbon[g].

The Emperor's treaty with the Pope.

THE Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the Pope, who having at

[g] Sleid. 376.

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length brought the Emperor to adopt that plan which he had long recommended, aſſented with eagerneſs to every article that he propoſed. The league was ſigned a few days after the Cardinal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious hereſies which abounded in Germany, the obſtinacy of the Proteſtants in rejecting the holy council aſſembled at Trent, and the neceſſity of maintaining ſound doctrine, together with good order in the church, are mentioned as the motives of this union between the contracting parties. In order to check the growth of theſe evils, and to puniſh ſuch as had impiouſly contributed to ſpread them, the Emperor, having long and without ſucceſs made trial of gentler remedies, engaged inſtantly to take the field with a ſufficient army, that he might compel all who diſowned the council, or had apoſtatized from the religion of their forefathers, to return into the boſom of the church, and ſubmit with due obedience to the Holy See. He likewiſe bound himſelf not to conclude a peace with them during ſix months without the Pope's conſent, nor without aſſigning him his ſhare in any conqueſts which ſhould be made upon them; and that even after this period he ſhould not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church, or to the intereſt of religion. On his part, the Pope ſtipulated to depoſit a large ſum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expence of the war; to maintain, at his own charge, during the ſpace of ſix months, twelve thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; to grant the

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the Emperor, for one year, half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him, by a bull, to alienate as much of the lands, belonging to religious houſes in that country, as would amount to the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns; and to employ not only ſpiritual cenſures, but military force, againſt any Prince who ſhould attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty [h].

Endeavours ſtill to conceal his intentions from the Proteſtants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the explicit terms in which the extirpation of hereſy was declared to be the object of the war which was to follow upon this treaty, Charles ſtill endeavoured to perſuade the Germans that he had no deſign to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repreſſing the inſolence of ſuch as had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters in the ſame ſtrain with his anſwer to the deputies at Ratiſbon, to moſt of the free cities, and to ſeveral of the Princes who had embraced the Proteſtant doctrines. In theſe he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the preſumptuous as well as diſorderly behaviour of ſome members of the Empire. He declared that he now took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppreſs any who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful ſubjects, but to

[h] Sleid. 381. Pallav. 255. Dumont Corps Diplom. II.

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humble the arrogance of ſuch as had thrown off all ſenſe of that ſubordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanic body. Groſs as this deception was, and manifeſt as it might have appeared to all who conſidered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became neceſſary for him to make trial of its effect; and ſuch was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the moſt ſolid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Proteſtant church, and of reducing all Germany under its former ſtate of ſubjection to the Papal See, none of the cities or Princes who had embraced the new opinions could have remained neutral after ſuch a declaration, far leſs could they have ventured to aſſiſt the Emperor in ſuch an enterprize. Whereas by concealing, and even diſclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only ſaved himſelf from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Proteſtant ſtates, but he furniſhed the timid with an excuſe for continuing inactive, and the deſigning or intereſted with a pretext for joining him, without expoſing themſelves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or taking part openly in ſuppreſſing them. At the ſame time the Emperor well knew, that if, by their aſſiſtance, he were enabled to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, he might afterwards preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to the feeble remains of a party without union, and deſtitute of leaders,

leaders, who would then regret, too late, their miſtaken confidence in him, and their inconſiderate deſertion of their aſſociates.

The Pope diſconcerts his plan.

THE Pope, by a ſudden and unforeſeen diſplay of his zeal, had well nigh diſconcerted this plan which the Emperor had formed with ſo much care and art. Proud of having been the author of ſuch a formidable league againſt the Lutheran hereſy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reſerved for his Pontificate, he publiſhed the articles of his treaty with the Emperor, in order to demonſtrate the pious intention of their confederacy, as well as to diſplay his own zeal, which prompted him to make ſuch extraordinary efforts for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after iſſued a bull, containing moſt liberal promiſes of indulgence to all who ſhould engage in this holy enterprize, together with warm exhortations to ſuch as could not bear a part in it themſelves, to increaſe the fervour of their prayers, and the ſeverity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the bleſſing of Heaven upon thoſe who undertook it[i]. Nor was it zeal alone which puſhed the Pope to make declarations ſo inconſiſtent with the account which the Emperor himſelf gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much ſcandalized at Charles's diſſimulation in ſuch a cauſe; at his ſeeming to

[i] Du Mont Corps Diplom.

be

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be aſhamed of owning his zeal for the church, and at his endeavours to make that paſs for a political conteſt, which he ought to have gloried in as a war that had no other object than the defence of religion. With as much ſolicitude, therefore, as the Emperor laboured to diſguiſe the purpoſe of the confederacy, did the Pope endeavour to publiſh their real plan, in order that they might come at once to an open rupture with the Proteſtants, that all hope of reconcilement might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it leſs in his power than at preſent, to betray the intereſts of the church by any accommodation beneficial to himſelf [k].

THE Emperor, though not a little offended at the Pope's indiſcretion or malice in making this diſcovery, continued boldly to purſue his own plan, and to aſſert his intentions to be no other than what he had originally avowed. Several of the Proteſtant ſtates, whom he had previouſly gained, thought themſelves juſtified, in ſome meaſure, by his declarations, for abandoning their aſſociates, and even for giving aſſiſtance to him.

The preparation of the Proteſtants for their own defence.

BUT theſe artifices did not impoſe on the greater and ſounder part of the Proteſtant confederates. They clearly perceived it to be againſt the reformed religion that the Emperor had taken arms,

[k] F. Paul, 188. Thuan. Hiſt. i. 61.

and

and that not only the ſuppreſſion of it, but the extinction of the German liberties, would be the certain conſequence of his obtaining ſuch an entire ſuperiority as would enable him to execute his ſchemes in their full extent. They determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce thoſe religious truths, to the knowledge of which they had attained by means ſo wonderful, nor to abandon thoſe civil rights which had been tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors. In order to give the neceſſary directions for this purpoſe, their deputies met at Ulm, ſoon after their abrupt departure from Ratiſbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as the imminent danger which threatened them required. The contingent of troops, which each of the confederates was to furniſh, having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being ſenſible, at laſt, that through the narrow prejudices of ſome of their members, and the imprudent ſecurity of others, they had neglected too long to ſtrengthen themſelves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earneſtneſs to the Venetians and Swiſs.

They ſolicit the aid of the Venetians.

To the Venetians they repreſented the Emperor's intention of overturning the preſent ſyſtem of Germany, and of raiſing himſelf to abſolute power in that country by means of foreign force furniſhed

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furniſhed by the Pope; they warned them how fatal this event would prove to the liberties of Italy, and that by ſuffering Charles to acquire unlimited authority in the one country, they would ſoon feel his dominion to be no leſs deſpotic in the other; they beſought them, therefore, not to grant a paſſage through their territories to thoſe troops, which ought to be treated as common enemies, becauſe by ſubduing Germany they prepared chains for the reſt of Europe. Theſe reflections had not eſcaped the ſagacity of thoſe wiſe republicans. They had communicated their ſentiments to the Pope, and had endeavoured to divert him from an alliance, which tended to render irreſiſtible the power of a potentate, whoſe ambition he already knew to be boundleſs. But they had found Paul ſo eager in the proſecution of his own plan, that he diſregarded all their remonſtrances[1]. This attempt to alarm the Pope having proved unſucceſsful, they declined doing any thing more towards preventing the dangers which they foreſaw; and in return to the application from the confederates of Smalkalde, they informed them, that they could not obſtruct the march of the Pope's troops through an open country, but by levying an army ſtrong enough to face them in the field; and that this would draw upon themſelves the whole weight of his as well as of the Emperor's indignation. For the ſame reaſon they declined lending a ſum of money, which the

[1] Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi Tempi, liv. v. p. 332.

Elector

Elector of Saxony and Landgrave propoſed to borrow of them, towards carrying on the war [m].

Of the Swiſs.

THE demands of the confederates upon the Swiſs were not confined to the obſtructing of the entrance of foreigners into Germany; they required of them, as the neareſt neighbours and cloſeſt allies of the Empire, to interpoſe with their wonted vigour for the preſervation of its liberties, and not to ſtand as inactive ſpectators, while their brethren were oppreſſed and enſlaved. But with whatever zeal ſome of the Cantons might have been diſpoſed to act when the cauſe of the Reformation was in danger, the Helvetic body was ſo divided with regard to religion, as to render it unſafe for the Proteſtants to take any ſtep without conſulting their Catholic aſſociates; and among them the emiſſaries of the Pope and Emperor had ſuch influence, that a reſolution of maintaining an exact neutrality between the contending parties, was the utmoſt which could be procured [n].

Of Francis I. and Henry VIII.

BEING diſappointed in both theſe applications, the Proteſtants, not long after, had recourſe to the Kings of France and England; the approach of danger either overcoming the Elector of Saxony's ſcruples, or obliging him to yield to the importunities of his aſſociates. The ſituation of

[m] Sleid. 381. Paruta Iſtor. Venet. tom. iv. 180. Lambertus Hortenſius de Bello Germanico, apud Scardium, vol. ii. p. 547.

[n] Sleid. 392.

the

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the two Monarchs flattered them with hopes of ſucceſs. Though hoſtilities between them had continued for ſome time after the peace of Creſpy, they became weary at laſt of a war, attended with no glory or advantage to either, and had lately terminated all their differences by a peace concluded at Campe near Ardres. Francis having with great difficulty procured his allies, the Scots, to be included in the treaty, in return for that conceſſion he engaged to pay a great ſum, which Henry demanded as due to him on ſeveral accounts, and he left Boulogne in the hands of the Engliſh, as a pledge for his faithful performance of that article. But though the re-eſtabliſhment of peace ſeemed to leave the two Monarchs at liberty to turn their attention towards Germany, ſo unfortunate were the Proteſtants, that they derived no immediate advantage from this circumſtance. Henry appeared unwilling to enter into any alliance with them, but on ſuch conditions as would render him not only the head, but the ſupreme director of their league; a pre-eminence which, as the bonds of union or intereſt between them were but feeble, and as he differed from them ſo widely in his religious ſentiments, they had no inclination to admit [o]. Francis, more powerfully inclined by political conſiderations to afford them aſſiſtance, found his kingdom ſo much exhauſted by a long war, and was ſo much afraid of irritating the Pope, by entering into cloſe union with excom-

[o] Rymer, xv. 93. Herbert, 258.

municated

municated heretics, that he durſt not undertake the protection of the Smalkaldic league. By this ill-timed caution, or by a ſuperſtitious deference to ſcruples, to which at other times he was not much addicted, he loſt the moſt promiſing opportunity of mortifying and diſtreſſing his rival, which preſented itſelf during his whole reign.

Protestants take the field with a great army.

But, notwithſtanding their ill ſucceſs in their negociations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a ſufficient force into the field. Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants; the feudal inſtitutions, which ſubſiſted in full force, enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vaſſals, and to put them in motion on the ſhorteſt warning; the martial ſpirit of the Germans, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either in the pay of the Emperors, or the Kings of France. Upon every opportunity of entering into ſervice, they were accuſtomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every ſtandard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters [P]. Zeal ſeconded, on this occaſion, their native ardour. Men on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impreſſion which accompanies truth when firſt diſcovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional vigour; and

[P] Seck. l. iii. 161.

among

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among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion was the motive for taking arms. Accident combined with all theſe circumſtances in facilitating the levy of ſoldiers among the confederates. A conſiderable number of Germans, in the pay of France, being diſmiſſed by the King on the proſpect of peace with England, joined in a body the ſtandard of the Proteſtants[q]. By ſuch a concurrence of cauſes, they were enabled to aſſemble in a few weeks an army compoſed of ſeventy thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe, provided with a train of an hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thouſand beaſts of burden, and ſix thouſand pioneers[r]. This army, one of the moſt numerous, and undoubtedly the beſt appointed, of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, did not require the united effort of the whole Proteſtant body to raiſe it. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Auſbourg, Ulm, and Straſburg, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament: the Electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his profeſſions, remained neuter. John marquis of Brandenburg Bareith,

[q] Thuan. l. i. 68.

[r] Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zuniga Commentariorum de Bel. Germ. lib. duo, Antw. 1550. 12mo. p. 13, a.

and

and Albert of Brandenburg Anſpach, though both early converts to Lutheraniſm, entered openly into the Emperor's ſervice, under pretext of having obtained his promiſe for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion; and Maurice of Saxony ſoon followed their example.

The inequality of the Emperor's forces to theirs.

THE number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had aſſembled them, aſtoniſhed the Emperor, and filled him with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. He was, indeed, in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a mighty force. Shut up in Ratiſbon, a town of no great ſtrength, whoſe inhabitants, being moſtly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to aſſiſt him, with only three thouſand Spaniſh foot, who had ſerved in Hungary, and about five thouſand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he muſt have been overwhelmed by the approach of ſuch a formidable army, which he could not fight, nor could he even hope to retreat from it in ſafety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low-Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete[s]. His ſituation, however, called for more immediate ſuccour, nor did it ſeem practicable for him to wait for ſuch diſtant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was ſo precarious.

[s] Sleid. 389. Avila, 8, a.

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1546. They imprudently negociate instead of acting.

But it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view. In civil wars, the first steps are commonly taken with much timidity and hesitation. Men are solicitous, at that time, to put on the semblance of moderation and equity; they strive to gain partisans by seeming to adhere strictly to known forms; nor can they be brought, at once, to violate those established institutions, which in times of tranquillity they have been accustomed to reverence; hence their proceedings are often feeble or dilatory, when they ought to be most vigorous and decisive. Influenced by those considerations, which, happily for the peace of society, operate powerfully on the human mind, the confederates could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they owed to the head of the Empire, or of turning their arms against him without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow-subjects. July 15. For this purpose, they addressed a letter to the Emperor, and a manifesto to all the inhabitants of Germany. The tenour of both was the same. They represented their own conduct with regard to civil affairs as dutiful and submissive; they mentioned the inviolable union in which they had lived with the Emperor, as well as the many and recent marks of his good-will and gratitude wherewithal they had been honoured; they asserted religion to be the sole cause of the violence which the Emperor now meditated against them; and in proof

proof of this produced many arguments to convince thoſe who were ſo weak as to be deceived by the artifices with which he endeavoured to cover his real intentions; they declared their own reſolution to riſk every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the diſſolution of the German conſtitution, if the Emperor ſhould finally prevail againſt them [t].

The Emperor puts the under the ban of the Empire. July 20.

CHARLES, though in ſuch a perilous ſituation as might have inſpired him with moderate ſentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſtate. His only reply to the addreſs and manifeſto of the Proteſtants, was to publiſh the ban of the Empire againſt the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, their leaders, and againſt all who ſhould dare to aſſiſt them. By this ſentence, the ultimate and moſt rigorous one which the German juriſprudence has provided for the puniſhment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiſcated; their ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles, and free cities, who framed or perfected the conſtitution of the German government, had not been ſo negligent of their own ſafety and privileges as to

[t] Sleid. 384.

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truſt the Emperor with this formidable juriſdiction. The authority of a diet of the Empire ought to have been interpoſed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with ſucceſs, there would remain none who would have either power or courage to call in queſtion what he had done[u]. The Emperor, however, did not found his ſentence againſt the Elector and Landgrave on their revolt from the eſtabliſhed church, or their conduct with regard to religion; he affected to aſſign for it reaſons purely civil, and thoſe too expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, without ſpecifying the nature or circumſtances of their guilt, as rendered it more like an act of deſpotic power than of a legal and limited juriſdiction. Nor was it altogether from choice, or to conceal his intentions, that Charles had recourſe to the ambiguity of general expreſſions; but he durſt not mention too particularly the cauſes of his ſentence, as every action which he could have charged upon the Elector and Landgrave as a crime, might have been employed with equal juſtice to condemn many of the Proteſtants whom he ſtill pretended to conſider as faithful ſubjects, and whom it would have been extremely imprudent to alarm or diſguſt.

[u] Sleid. 386. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 314. Pfeffel Hiſt. Abregè du Droit Publ. 168. 736. 158.

THE confederates, now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to chooſe whether they would ſubmit without reſerve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open hoſtilities. They were not deſtitute either of public ſpirit, or of reſolution to make the proper choice. A few days after the ban of the Empire was publiſhed, they, according to the cuſtom of that age, ſent a herald to the Imperial camp, with a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty which he might claim, or which they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had begun to act. The command of a conſiderable body of men raiſed by the city of Augſburg having been given to Sebaſtian Schertel, a ſoldier of fortune, who by the booty that he got when the Imperialiſts plundered Rome, together with the merit of long ſervice, had acquired wealth and authority which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles: that gallant veteran reſolved, before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt ſomething ſuitable to his former fame, and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the Pope's forces were haſtening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany by the narrow paſſes through the mountains which run acroſs that country, he advanced thither with the utmoſt rapidity, and ſeized Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, two ſtrong caſtles which commanded the principal

1546. They declare war againſt Charles.

Their firſt operations;

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defiles. Without ſtopping a moment, he continued his march towards Inſpruck, by getting poſſeſſion of which he would have obliged the Italians to ſtop ſhort, and with a ſmall body of men could have reſiſted all the efforts of the greateſt armies. Caſtlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the Emperor, all whoſe deſigns muſt have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raiſed a few troops with the utmoſt diſpatch, and threw himſelf into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprize, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the Elector and Landgrave, obliged him to deſiſt. By his retreat the paſſes were left open, and the Italians entered Germany without any oppoſition, but from the garriſons which Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, and theſe, having no hopes of being relieved, ſurrendered, after a ſhort reſiſtance[x] *.

Nor

[x] Seckend. lib. ii. 70. Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi Tempi, lib. 335.

* Seckendorf, the induſtrious author of the Commentarius Apologeticus de Lutheraniſmo, whom I have ſo long and ſafely followed as my guide in German affairs, was a deſcendant from Schertel. With the care and ſolicitude of a German, who was himſelf of noble birth, Seckendorf has publiſhed a long digreſſion concerning his anceſtor, calculated chiefly to ſhow how Schertel was ennobled, and his poſterity allied to many of the moſt ancient families in the Empire. Among other curious particulars, he gives us an account of his wealth, the chief ſource of which was the plunder he got at

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1546. and ill-conduct.

Nor was the recalling of Schertel the only error of which the confederates were guilty. As the ſupreme command of their army was committed, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe with equal power, all the inconveniencies ariſing from a divided and co-ordinate authority, which is always of fatal conſequence in the operations of war, were immediately felt. The Elector, though intrepid in his own perſon to exceſs, and moſt ardently zealous in the cauſe, was ſlow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irreſolute in his determinations, and conſtantly preferred meaſures which were cautious and ſafe, to ſuch as were bold or deciſive. The Landgrave, of a more active and enterpriſing nature, formed all his reſolutions with promptitude, wiſhed to execute them with ſpirit, and uniformly preferred ſuch meaſures as tended to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. Thus their maxims, with regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as thoſe by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their ſentiments gave riſe, imperceptibly, to jealouſy and the ſpirit of contention. Theſe multiplied the diſſenſions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural tempers, and rendered them more

at Rome. His landed eſtate alone was ſold by his grandſons for ſix hundred thouſand florins. By this we may form ſome idea of the riches amaſſed by the *Condottieri*, or commanders of mercenary bands in that age. At the taking of Rome Schertel was only a captain. Seckend. lib. ii. 73.

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violent. The other members of the league conſidering themſelves as independent, and ſubject to the Elector and Landgrave, only in conſequence of the articles of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders who proceeded with ſo little concord; and the numerous army of the Proteſtants, like a vaſt machine whoſe parts are ill-compacted, and which is deſtitute of any power ſufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no conſiſtency, vigour, or effect.

The Pope's troops join the Emperor.

THE Emperor, who was afraid that, by remaining at Ratiſbon, he might render it impoſſible for the Pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landſhut on the Iſer, the confederates loſt ſome days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, a neutral Prince. When at laſt they ſurmounted that ſcruple, and began to move towards his camp, they ſuddenly abandoned the deſign, and haſtened to attack Ratiſbon, in which town Charles could leave only a ſmall garriſon. By this time the Papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had ſtipulated to furniſh, had reached Landſhut, and were ſoon followed by ſix thouſand Spaniards of the veteran bands ſtationed in Naples. The confederates, after Schertel's ſpirited but fruitleſs expedition, ſeem to have permitted theſe forces to advance unmoleſted to the place of rendezvous, without any attempt to attack either them

or the Emperor ſeparately, or to prevent their junction[x]. The Imperial army amounted now to thirty-ſix thouſand men, and was ſtill more formidable by the diſcipline and valour of the troops, than by their number. Avila, commendador of Alcantara, who had been preſent in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had ſerved in the armies which gained the memorable victory at Pavia, which conquered Tunis, and invaded France, gives this the preference to any military force he had ever ſeen aſſembled[y]. Octavio Farneſe, the Pope's grandſon, aſſiſted by the ableſt officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother, the Cardinal Farneſe, accompanied him as Papal legate; and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprize, he propoſed to march at the head of the army, with a croſs carried before him, and to publiſh indulgences wherever he came, to all who ſhould give them any aſſiſtance, as had anciently been the practice in the Cruſades againſt the Infidels. But this the Emperor ſtrictly prohibited, as inconſiſtent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his aſtoniſhment, that the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, the extirpation of which he conſidered as the ſole object of the war, was publicly permitted in the Imperial camp, ſoon returned in diſguſt to Italy[z].

[x] Adriani Iſtoria de ſuoi Tempi, lib. v. 340.

[y] Avila, 18. [z] F. Paul, 191.

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THE arrival of theſe troops enabled the Emperor to ſend ſuch a reinforcement to the garriſon at Ratiſbon, that the confederates, relinquiſhing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldſtadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. They exclaimed loudly againſt the Emperor's notorious violation of the laws and conſtitution of the Empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waſte Germany, and to oppreſs its liberties. As in that age, the dominion of the Roman See was ſo odious to the Proteſtants, that the name of the Pope alone was ſufficient to inſpire them with horror at any enterprize which he countenanced, and to raiſe in their minds the blackeſt ſuſpicions, it came to be univerſally believed among them, that Paul, not ſatisfied with attacking them openly by force of arms, had diſperſed his emiſſaries all over Germany, to ſet on fire their towns and magazines, and to poiſon the wells and fountains of water. Nor did this rumour, which was extravagant and frightful enough to make a deep impreſſion on the credulity of the vulgar, ſpread among them only; even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, publiſhed a declaration, in which they accuſed the Pope of having employed ſuch Antichriſtian and diabolical arts againſt them[a]. Theſe ſentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in ſome meaſure, by the behaviour of the Papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous to-

[a] Sleid. 399.

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wards heretics anathematized by the church, were guilty of great exceſſes in the territories of the Lutheran States, and aggravated the calamities of war, by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigoted zeal. 1546.

The confederates advance towards the Imperial army.

THE firſt operations in the field, however, did not correſpond with the violence of thoſe paſſions which animated individuals. The Emperor had prudently taken the reſolution of avoiding an action with an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number [b], eſpecially as he foreſaw that nothing could keep a body compoſed of ſo many and ſuch diſſimilar members from falling to pieces, but the preſſing to attack it with an inconſiderate precipitancy. The confederates, though it was no leſs evident that to them every moment's delay was pernicious, were ſtill prevented by the weakneſs or diviſion of their leaders from exerting that vigour, with which their ſituation, as well as the ardour of their ſoldiers, ought to have inſpired them. On their arrival at Ingoldſtadt, they found the Emperor in a camp not remarkable for ſtrength, and ſurrounded only by a ſlight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of ſuch extent, as afforded ſufficient ſpace for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every conſideration ſhould have determined them to have ſeized this opportunity of attacking the Emperor; and their great ſuperiority in numbers, the eagerneſs of their troops, together with the ſtability of the

Auguſt 29.

[b] Avila, 78, a.

German

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German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the moſt probable expectation of victory. The Landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring that if the ſole command were veſted in him, he would terminate the war on that occaſion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the Elector, reflecting on the valour and diſcipline of the enemy's forces, animated by the preſence of the Emperor, and conducted by the beſt officers of the age, would not venture upon an action, which he thought to be ſo doubtful, as the attacking ſuch a body of veterans on ground which they themſelves had choſen, and while covered by fortifications which, though imperfect, would afford them no ſmall advantage in the combat. Notwithſtanding his heſitation and remonſtrances, it was agreed to advance towards the enemy's camp in battle array, in order to make a trial whether by that inſult, and by a furious cannonade which they began, they could draw the Imperialiſts out of their works. But the Emperor had too much ſagacity to fall into this ſnare. He adhered to his own ſyſtem with inflexible conſtancy; and drawing up his ſoldiers behind their trenches, that they might be ready to receive the confederates if they ſhould venture upon an aſſault, calmly waited their approach, and carefully reſtrained his own men from any excurſions or ſkirmiſhes which might bring on a general engagement. He rode along the lines, and addreſſing the troops of the different nations in their own language, encouraged them not only by his words, but by the cheerfulneſs of his voice and coun-

The Emperor declines a battle.

countenance; he expoſed himſelf in places of greateſt danger, and amidſt the warmeſt fire of the enemy's artillery, the moſt numerous that had hitherto been brought into the field by any army. Rouſed by his example, not a man quitted his ranks; it was thought infamous to diſcover any ſymptom of fear when the Emperor appeared ſo intrepid; and the meaneſt ſoldier plainly perceived, that their declining the combat at preſent was not the effect of timidity in their general, but the reſult of a well-grounded caution. The confederates, after firing ſeveral hours on the Imperialiſts, with more noiſe and terror than execution, ſeeing no proſpect of alluring them to fight on equal terms, retired to their own camp. The Emperor employed the night with ſuch diligence in ſtrengthening his works, that the confederates, returning to the cannonade next day, found that, though they had now been willing to venture upon ſuch a bold experiment, the opportunity of making an attack with advantage was loſt [c].

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The Flemiſh troops join the Emperor.

After ſuch a diſcovery of the feebleneſs or irreſolution of their leaders, and the prudence as well as firmneſs of the Emperor's conduct, the confederates turned their whole attention towards preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforcement of ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, which the count de Buren was bringing to the Emperor from the Low-Countries. But though

[c] Sleid. 395. 397. Avila, 27, a. Lamb. Hortenſ. ap. Scard. ii.

that

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that general had to traverſe ſuch an extent of country; though his route lay through the territories of ſeveral ſtates warmly diſpoſed to favour the confederates; though they were apprized of his approach, and by their ſuperiority in numbers might eaſily have detached a force ſufficient to overpower him, he advanced with ſuch rapidity, and by ſuch well-concerted movements, while they oppoſed him with ſuch remiſſneſs, and ſo little military ſkill, that he conducted this body to the Imperial camp without any loſs [d]. Sept. 10.

UPON the arrival of the Flemings, in whom he placed great confidence, the Emperor altered, in ſome degree, his plan of operations, and began to act more upon the offenſive, though he ſtill avoided a battle with the utmoſt induſtry. He made himſelf maſter of Neuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube; of Nordlingen, and ſeveral other towns, ſituated on the moſt conſiderable ſtreams which fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in ſeveral ſharp encounters, of which the ſucceſs was various, nor without being expoſed, oftener than once, to the danger of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was ſpent; neither party gained any remarkable ſuperiority over the other, and nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The Emperor had often foretold, with confidence, State of both armies.

[d] Sleid. 403.

that

that diſcord and the want of money would compel the confederates to diſperſe that unwieldy body, which they had neither abilities to guide nor funds to ſupport [e]. Though he waited with impatience for the accompliſhment of his prediction, there was no proſpect of that event being at hand. But he himſelf began to ſuffer from the want of forage and proviſions; even the Catholic provinces being ſo much incenſed at the introduction of foreigners into the Empire, that they furniſhed them with reluctance, while the camp of the confederates abounded with a profuſion of all neceſſaries, which the zeal of their friends in the adjacent countries poured in with the utmoſt liberality and good will. Great numbers of the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to the climate or food of Germany, were become unfit for ſervice through ſickneſs [f]. Conſiderable arrears were now due to the troops, who had ſcarcely received any money from the beginning of the campaign; the Emperor, experiencing on this, as well as on former occaſions, that his juriſdiction was more extenſive than his revenues, and that the former enabled him to aſſemble a greater number of ſoldiers, than the latter were ſufficient to ſupport. Upon all theſe accounts, he found it difficult to keep his army in the field; ſome of his ableſt generals, and even the Duke of Alva

[e] Belli Smalkaldici Commentarius Græco ſermone ſcriptus a Joach. Camerario, ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 479.

[f] Camerar. ap. Freher. 483.

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himſelf, perſevering and obſtinate as he uſually was in the proſecution of every meaſure, adviſing him to diſperſe his troops into winter-quarters. But as the arguments urged againſt any plan which he had adopted, rarely made much impreſſion upon the Emperor, he paid no regard to their opinion, and determined to continue his efforts in order to weary out the confederates; being well aſſured that if he could once oblige them to ſeparate, there was little probability of their uniting again in a body[g]. Still, however, it remained a doubtful point, whether his ſteadineſs was moſt likely to fail, or their zeal to be exhauſted. It was ſtill uncertain which party, by firſt dividing its forces, would give the ſuperiority to the other; when an unexpected event decided the conteſt, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in the affairs of the confederates.

Schemes of Maurice of Saxony.

MAURICE of Saxony having inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor's confidence, by the arts which have already been deſcribed, no ſooner ſaw hoſtilities ready to break out between the confederates of Smalkalde and that monarch, than vaſt proſpects of ambition began to open upon him. That portion of Saxony, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring mind; and he perceived with pleaſure the approach of civil war, as, amidſt the revolutions and convulſions occaſioned by it, opportunities of

[g] Thuan. 83.

acquiring

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acquiring additional power or dignity, which at other times are ſought in vain, preſent themſelves to an enterpriſing ſpirit. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, he did not heſitate long in determining on which ſide the greateſt advantages were to be expected. Having revolved all theſe things in his own breaſt, and having taken his final reſolution of joining the Emperor, he prudently determined to declare early in his favour; that by the merit of this, he might acquire a title to a proportional recompenſe. With this view, he had repaired to Ratiſbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his miniſters, he, with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy, concluded a treaty, in which he engaged to concur in aſſiſting the Emperor as a faithful ſubject; and Charles, in return, ſtipulated to beſtow on him all the ſpoils of the Elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories [h]. Hiſtory hardly records any treaty that can be conſidered as a more manifeſt violation of the moſt powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a profeſſed Proteſtant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its intereſts, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of every mind, binds himſelf to contribute his aſſiſtance towards carrying on a war which had mani-

His league with the Emperor.

[h] Haræi Annal. Brabant. vol. i. 638. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

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feſtly no other object than the extirpation of the Proteſtant doctrines. He engages to take arms againſt his father-in-law, and to ſtrip his neareſt relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend againſt a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the Prince who ventured upon all this, one of thoſe audacious politicians, who, provided they can accompliſh their ends, and ſecure their intereſt, avowedly diſregard the moſt ſacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole muſt be aſcribed to policy, was more artful and maſterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preſerve, in every ſtep which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his ſubſequent behaviour, that, with regard to the Proteſtant religion at leaſt, his intentions were upright, that he fondly truſted to the Emperor's promiſes for its ſecurity, but that, according to the fate of all who refine too much in policy, and who tread in dark and crooked paths, in attempting to deceive others, he himſelf was, in ſome degree, deceived.

His artifices in order to conceal his intentions.

His firſt care, however, was to keep the engagements into which he had entered with the Emperor cloſely concealed: and ſo perfect a maſter was he in the art of diſſimulation, that the confederates, notwithſtanding his declining all connexions with them, and his remarkable aſſiduity in paying court

court to the Emperor, ſeemed to have entertained no ſuſpicion of his deſigns. Even the Elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his aſſociates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an inſidious appearance of friendſhip, readily undertook [i]. But ſcarcely had the Elector taken the field, when Maurice began to conſult privately with the King of the Romans how to invade thoſe very territories, with the defence of which he was entruſted. Soon after, the Emperor ſent him a copy of the Imperial ban denounced againſt the Elector and Landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly intereſted in preventing ſtrangers from getting his dominions into their poſſeſſion, Charles required him, not only for his own ſake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the Empire, inſtantly to ſeize and detain in his hands the forfeited eſtates of the Elector; warning him, at the ſame time, that if he neglected to obey theſe commands, he ſhould be held as acceſſary to the crimes of his kinſman, and be liable to the ſame puniſhment [k].

THIS artifice, which it is probable Maurice himſelf ſuggeſted, was employed by him in order that his conduct towards the Elector might ſeem a matter of neceſſity but not of choice, an act of obedience to his ſuperior, rather than a

[i] Struvii Corp. 1046. [k] Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

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voluntary invaſion of the rights of his kinſman and ally. But in order to give ſome more ſpecious appearance to this thin veil with which he endeavoured to cover his ambition, he, ſoon after his return from Ratiſbon, had called together the ſtates of his country; and repreſenting to them that a civil war between the Emperor and confederates of Smalkalde was now become unavoidable, deſired their advice with regard to the part which he ſhould act in that event. They having been prepared, no doubt, and tutored before-hand, and being deſirous of gratifying their Prince, whom they eſteemed as well as loved, gave ſuch counſel as they knew would be moſt agreeable; adviſing him to offer his mediation towards reconciling the contending parties; but if that were rejected, and he could obtain proper ſecurity for the Proteſtant religion, they delivered it as their opinion, that, in all other points, he ought to yield obedience to the Emperor. Upon receiving the Imperial reſcript, together with the ban againſt the Elector and Landgrave, Maurice ſummoned the ſtates of his country a ſecond time; he laid before them the orders which he had received, and mentioned the puniſhment with which he was threatened in caſe of diſobedience; he acquainted them that the confederates had refuſed to admit of his mediation, and that the Emperor had given him the moſt ſatisfactory declarations with regard to religion; he pointed out his own intereſt in ſecuring poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions, as well as the danger of allowing ſtran-

gers

gers to obtain an eſtabliſhment in Saxony; and upon the whole, as the point under deliberation reſpected his ſubjects no leſs than himſelf, he deſired to know their ſentiments, how he ſhould ſteer in that difficult and arduous conjuncture. The ſtates, no leſs obſequious and complaiſant than formerly, profeſſing their own reliance on the Emperor's promiſes as a perfect ſecurity for their religion, propoſed that, before he had recourſe to more violent methods, they would write to the Elector, exhorting him, as the beſt means, not only of appeaſing the Emperor, but of preventing his dominions from being ſeized by foreign or hoſtile powers, to give his conſent that Maurice ſhould take poſſeſſion of them quietly and without oppoſition. Maurice himſelf ſeconded their arguments in a letter to the Landgrave, his father-in-law. Such an extravagant propoſition was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation which it deſerved. The Landgrave, in return to Maurice, taxed him with his treachery and ingratitude towards a kinſman to whom he was ſo deeply indebted; he treated with contempt his affectation of executing the Imperial ban, which he could not but know to be altogether void by the unconſtitutional and arbitrary manner in which it had been iſſued; he beſought him, not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far blinded by ambition, as to forget the obligations of honour and friendſhip, or to betray the Proteſtant religion, the extirpation of which out of Germany, even by the acknowledgment of the

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Pope himſelf, was the great object of the preſent war [1].

He invades the territories of the Elector of Saxony.

November.

But Maurice had proceeded too far to be diverted from purſuing his plan by reproaches or arguments. Nothing now remained but to execute with vigour, what he had hitherto carried on by artifice and diſſimulation. Nor was his boldneſs in action inferior to his ſubtlety in contrivance. Having aſſembled about twelve thouſand men, he ſuddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand, with an army compoſed of Bohemians and Hungarians, overran the other. Maurice, in two ſharp encounters, defeated the troops which the Elector had left to guard his country; and improving theſe advantages to the utmoſt, made himſelf maſter of all the Electorate, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eiſenach, which being places of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended by ſufficient garriſons, refuſed to open their gates. The news of theſe rapid conqueſts ſoon reached the Imperial and confederate camps. In the former, ſatisfaction with an event, which it was foreſeen would be productive of the moſt important conſequences, was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration of joy. The latter was filled with aſtoniſhment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned with execration, as an apoſtate from religion, a

[1] Sleid. 405, &c. Thuan. 85. Camerar. 484.

betrayer

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betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the moſt ſacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could ſuggeſt, in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, ſatires, and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors, were all employed againſt him. While he, confiding in the arts which he had ſo long practiſed, as if his actions could have admitted of any ſerious juſtification, publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the ſame frivolous reaſons for his conduct, which he had formerly alleged in the meeting of his ſtates, and in his letter to the Landgrave [m].

The confederates make overtures of accommodation to the Emperor;

The Elector, upon the firſt intelligence of Maurice's motions, propoſed to return home with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But the deputies of the league, aſſembled at Ulm, prevailed on him, at that time, to remain with the army, and to prefer the ſucceſs of the common cauſe before the ſecurity of his own dominions. At length the ſufferings and complaints of his ſubjects increaſed ſo much, that he diſcovered the utmoſt impatience to ſet out, in order to reſcue them from the oppreſſion of Maurice, and from the cruelty of the Hungarians, who, having been accuſtomed to that licentious and mercileſs ſpecies of war which was thought lawful againſt the Turks, committed, wherever they came, the wild-

[m] Sleid. 409, 410.

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eſt acts of rapine and violence. This deſire of the Elector was ſo natural and ſo warmly urged, that the deputies at Ulm, though fully ſenſible of the unhappy conſequences of dividing their army, durſt not refuſe their conſent, how unwilling ſoever to grant it. In this perplexity, they repaired to the camp of the confederates at Giengen, on the Brenz, in order to conſult their conſtituents. Nor were they leſs at a loſs what to determine in this preſſing emergence. But, after having conſidered ſeriouſly the open deſertion of ſome of their allies; the ſcandalous lukewarmneſs of others, who had hitherto contributed nothing towards the war; the intolerable load which had fallen of conſequence upon ſuch members as were moſt zealous for the cauſe, or moſt faithful to their engagements; the ill ſucceſs of all their endeavours to obtain foreign aid; the unuſual length of the campaign; the rigour of the ſeaſon; together with the great number of ſoldiers, and even officers, who had quitted the ſervice on that account; they concluded that nothing could ſave them, but either the bringing the conteſt to the immediate deciſion of a battle, by attacking the Imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the deſpondency and dejection which now oppreſſed the party, that of theſe two they choſe what was moſt feeble and unmanly, empowering a miniſter of the Elector of Brandenburg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the Emperor.

No

No ſooner did Charles perceive this haughty confederacy, which had ſo lately threatened to drive him out of Germany, condeſcending to make the firſt advances towards an agreement, than concluding their ſpirit to be gone, or their union to be broken, he immediately aſſumed the tone of a conqueror; and, as if they had been already at his mercy, would not hear of a negociation, but upon condition that the Elector of Saxony ſhould previouſly give up himſelf and his dominions abſolutely to his diſpoſal[n]. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been preſcribed, even in the worſt ſituation of their affairs, it is no wonder that this propoſition ſhould be rejected by a party, which was rather humbled and diſconcerted than ſubdued. But though they refuſed to ſubmit tamely to the Emperor's will, they wanted ſpirit to purſue the only plan which could have preſerved their independence; and forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field, they inconſiderately abandoned this advantage, which, in ſpite of the diverſion in Saxony, would ſtill have kept the Emperor in awe; and yielding to the Elector's entreaties, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army. Nine thouſand men were left in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province,

1546. which he rejects.

The troops of the confederacy ſeparate.

[n] Hortenſius, ap. Scard. ii, 485.

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as well as the free cities of Upper Germany; a conſiderable body marched with the Elector towards Saxony; but the greater part returned with their reſpective leaders into their own countries, and were diſperſed there [o].

Almoſt all the members of it ſubmit to the Emperor.

THE moment that the troops ſeparated, the confederacy ceaſed to be the object of terror; and the members of it, who, while they compoſed part of a great body, had felt but little anxiety about their own ſecurity, began to tremble when they reflected that they now ſtood expoſed ſingly to the whole weight of the Emperor's vengeance. Charles did not allow them leiſure to recover from their conſternation, or to form any new ſchemes of union. As ſoon as the confederates began to retire, he put his army in motion, and though it was now the depth of winter, he reſolved to keep the field, in order to make the moſt of that favourable juncture for which he had waited ſo long. Some ſmall towns in which the Proteſtants had left garriſons, immediately opened their gates. Norlingen, Rotenberg, and Hall, Imperial cities, ſubmitted ſoon after. Though Charles could not prevent the Elector from levying, as he retreated, large contributions upon the archbiſhop of Mentz, the abbot of Fulda, and other eccleſiaſtics [p], this was more than balanced by the ſubmiſſion of Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic

[o] Sleid. 411.

[p] Thuan. 88.

league.

league. As ſoon as an example was ſet of deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their duty, ſhould, on that account, obtain more favourable terms. The Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of neutrality, had, very prepoſterouſly, ſent to the confederates four hundred horſe, a body ſo inconſiderable as to be ſcarcely any addition to their ſtrength, but great enough to render him guilty in the eyes of the Emperor, made his acknowledgments in the moſt abject manner. The inhabitants of Augſburg, ſhaken by ſo many inſtances of apoſtacy, expelled the brave Schertel out of their city, and accepted ſuch conditions as the Emperor was pleaſed to grant them. 1546.

THE Duke of Wurtemberg, though among the firſt who had offered to ſubmit, was obliged to ſue for pardon on his knees; and even after this mortifying humiliation, obtained it with difficulty[q]. Memmingen, and other free cities in the circle of Suabia, being now abandoned by all their former aſſociates, found it neceſſary to provide for their own ſafety, by throwing themſelves on the Emperor's mercy. Straſburg and Frankfort on the Maine, cities far remote from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered no greater ſteadineſs than 1547.

[q] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 589.

thoſe

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those which lay more exposed. Thus a confederacy, lately so powerful as to shake the Imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was dissolved in the space of a few weeks; hardly any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector and Landgrave, to whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked them out as victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to offer terms of reconciliation. Nor did he grant those who submitted to him a generous and unconditional pardon. Conscious of his own superiority, he treated them both with haughtiness and rigour. All the Princes in person, and the cities by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble posture of supplicants. As the Emperor laboured under great difficulties from the want of money, he imposed heavy fines upon them, which he levied with most rapacious exactness. The Duke of Wurtemberg paid three hundred thousand crowns; the city of Augsburg an hundred and fifty thousand; Ulm an hundred thousand; Frankfort eighty thousand; Memmingen fifty thousand; and the rest in proportion to their abilities, or their different degrees of guilt. They were obliged, besides, to renounce the league of Smalkalde; to furnish assistance, if required, towards executing the Imperial ban against the Elector and Landgrave; to give up their artillery and warlike stores to the Emperor; to admit garrisons into their principal cities and places of strength; and, in this disarmed and dependent situation, to expect the final award which the Emperor

The rigorous conditions imposed by the Emperor.

peror ſhould think proper to pronounce when the war came to an iſſue[r]. But, amidſt the great variety of articles dictated by Charles on this occaſion, he, in conformity to his original plan, took care that nothing relating to religion ſhould be inſerted; and to ſuch a degree were the confederates humbled or overawed, that, forgetting the zeal which had ſo long animated them, they were ſolicitous only about their own ſafety, without venturing to inſiſt on a point, the mention of which they ſaw the Emperor avoiding with ſo much induſtry. The inhabitants of Memmingen alone made ſome feeble efforts to procure a promiſe of protection in the exerciſe of their religion, but were checked ſo ſeverely by the Imperial miniſters, that they inſtantly fell from their demand. 1547.

THE Elector of Cologne, whom, notwithſtanding the ſentence of excommunication iſſued againſt him by the Pope, Charles had hitherto allowed to remain in poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal ſee, being now required by the Emperor to ſubmit to the cenſures of the church, this virtuous and diſintereſted prelate, unwilling to expoſe his ſubjects to the miſeries of war on his own account, voluntarily reſigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he choſe to enjoy truth, together with the exerciſe of his religion, in the retirement of a private life, rather than to diſturb ſociety by enga- Jan. 25.

[r] Sleid. 411, &c. Thuan. lib. iv. p. 125. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 606.

ging

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ging in a doubtful and violent ſtruggle in order to retain his office [s].

The Elector returns to Saxony, and recovers poſſeſſion of it.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country unmoleſted. As Maurice could aſſemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he, in a ſhort time, not only recovered poſſeſſion of his own territories, but over-ran Miſnia, and ſtripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dreſden and Leipſic, which, being towns of ſome ſtrength, could not be ſuddenly reduced. Maurice, obliged to quit the field, and to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, diſpatched courier after courier to the Emperor, repreſenting his dangerous ſituation, and ſoliciting him with the moſt earneſt importunity to march immediately to his relief. But Charles, buſy at that time in preſcribing terms to ſuch members of the league as were daily returning to their allegiance, thought it ſufficient to detach Albert Marquis of Brandenburg-Anſpach with three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance. Albert, though an enterpriſing and active officer, was unexpectedly ſurpriſed by the Elector, who killed many of his troops, diſperſed the remainder, and took him priſoner [t]. Maurice continued as much expoſed as formerly; and if his enemy had known how to improve the opportunity which preſented itſelf, his ruin muſt have been immediate and unavoidable. But the Elector, no leſs ſlow and di-

[s] Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.

[t] Avila, 99. 6. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 620.

latory

latory when inveſted with the ſole command, than he had been formerly when joined in authority with a partner, never gave any proof of military activity but in this enterprize againſt Albert. Inſtead of marching directly towards Maurice, whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed, he inconſiderately liſtened to overtures of accommodation, which his artful antagoniſt propoſed with no other intention than to amuſe him, and to ſlacken the vigour of his operations.

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The Emperor prevented from attacking the Elector and Landgrave.

Such, indeed, was the poſture of the Emperor's affairs, that he could not march inſtantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the ſeparation of the confederate army, he, in order to eaſe himſelf of the burden of maintaining a ſuperfluous number of troops, had diſmiſſed the count of Buren with his Flemings[u], imagining that the Spaniards and Germans, together with the papal forces, would be fully ſufficient to cruſh any degree of vigour that yet remained among the members of the league. But Paul, growing wiſe too late, began now to diſcern the imprudence of that meaſure, from which the more ſagacious Venetians had endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him. The rapid progreſs of the Imperial arms, and the eaſe with which they had broken a combination that appeared no leſs firm than powerful, opened his eyes at length, and made him not only forget all the advantages which he had expected

[u] Avila, 83. 6. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 592.

from

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from ſuch a complete triumph over hereſy, but placed, in the ſtrongeſt light, his own impolitic conduct, in having contributed towards acquiring for Charles ſuch an immenſe increaſe of power, as would enable him, after oppreſſing the liberties of Germany, to give law with abſolute authority to all the ſtates of Italy. The moment that he perceived his error, he endeavoured to correct it. Without giving the Emperor any warning of his intention, he ordered Farneſe, his grandſon, to return inſtantly to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the ſame time recalled the licence which he had granted Charles, of appropriating to his own uſe, a large ſhare of the church lands in Spain. He was not deſtitute of pretences to juſtify this abrupt deſertion of his ally. The term of ſix months, during which the ſtipulations in their treaty were to continue in force, was now expired; the league, in oppoſition to which their alliance had been framed, ſeemed to be entirely diſſipated; Charles, in all his negociations with the Princes and cities which had ſubmitted to his will, had neither conſulted the Pope, nor had allotted him any part of the conqueſts which he had made, nor had allowed him any ſhare in the vaſt contributions which he had raiſed. He had not even made any proviſion for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, or the reeſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, which were Paul's chief inducements to beſtow the treaſures of the church ſo liberally in carrying on the war. Theſe colours, however ſpecious, did not conceal

The Pope] recalls his troops.

conceal from the Emperor that ſecret jealouſy which was the true motive of the Pope's conduct. But, as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no leſs peremptory than unexpected, it was impoſſible to prevent their retreat. Charles exclaimed loudly againſt his treachery, in abandoning him ſo unſeaſonably, while he was proſecuting a war undertaken in obedience to the papal injunctions, and from which, if ſucceſsful, ſo much honour and advantage would redound to the church. To complaints he added threats and expoſtulations. But Paul remained inflexible; his troops continued their march towards the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and in an elaborate memorial, intended as an apology for his conduct, he diſcovered new and more manifeſt ſymptoms of alienation from the Emperor, together with a deep-rooted dread of his power [x]. Charles, weakened by the withdrawing of ſo great a body from his army, which was already much diminiſhed by the number of garriſons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it neceſſary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in perſon towards Saxony.

A conſpiracy to overturn the government of Genoa.

THE fame and ſplendour of his ſucceſs could not have failed of attracting ſuch multitudes of ſoldiers into his ſervice from all the extenſive territories now ſubject to his authority, as muſt have

[x] F. Paul, 208. Pallavic. par. ii. p. 5. Thuan. 126.

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ſoon put him in a condition of taking the field againſt the Elector; but the ſudden and violent eruption of a conſpiracy at Genoa, as well as the great revolutions which that event, extremely myſterious in its firſt appearances, ſeemed to portend, obliged him to avoid entangling himſelf in new operations in Germany, until he had fully diſcovered its ſource and tendency. The form of government which had been eſtabliſhed in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria reſtored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former diſſenſions, and received at firſt with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give univerſal ſatisfaction to thoſe turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire adminiſtration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them that pre-eminence, wiſhed for the reſtitution of a popular government, to which they had been accuſtomed; and though all reverenced the diſintereſted virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that aſcendant which he had acquired in the councils of the commonwealth. His age, however, his moderation, and his love of liberty, afforded ample ſecurity to his countrymen that he would not abuſe his power, nor ſtain the cloſe of his days by attempting to overturn that fabric, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But the authority and influence which in his hands were innocent, they eaſily ſaw would prove deſtructive, if uſurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or leſs virtue. A citizen of this

The object of the conſpirators.

this dangerous character had actually formed such pretenſions, and with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew deſtined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewiſe at being his ſucceſſor in power. His temper haughty, inſolent, and overbearing to ſuch a degree as would hardly have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether inſupportable in the citizen of a free ſtate. The more ſagacious among the Genoeſe already feared and hated him as the enemy of thoſe liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himſelf, blinded by that violent and undiſcerning affection which perſons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, ſet no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; ſeeming leſs ſolicitous to ſecure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeſerving kinſman.

But whatever ſuſpicion of Doria's deſigns, or whatever diſſatisfaction with the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the commonwealth, theſe circumſtances might have occaſioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fieſco count of Lavagna, obſerving this growing diſguſt, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldeſt actions recorded in hiſtory. That young nobleman, the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious ſubject in the republic, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart,

Fieſco count of Lavagna the head of the conſpiracy.

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which command reſpect, or ſecure attachment. He was graceful and majeſtic in his perſon; magnificent even to profuſion; of a generoſity that anticipated the wiſhes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of ſtrangers; of an inſinuating addreſs, gentle manners, and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of theſe virtues, which ſeemed to form him for enjoying and adorning ſocial life, he concealed all the diſpoſitions which mark men out for taking the lead in the moſt dangerous and dark conſpiracies; an inſatiable and reſtleſs ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that diſdained ſubordination. Such a temper could ill brook that ſtation of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republic; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its deſcending, like an hereditary poſſeſſion, to Giannetino. Theſe various paſſions, preying with violence on his turbulent and aſpiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not ſubmit.

Intrigues and preparations of the conſpirators.

As the moſt effectual method of accompliſhing this, he thought at firſt of forming a connexion with Francis, and even propoſed it to the French ambaſſador at Rome; and after expelling Doria, together with the Imperial faction, by his aſſiſtance, he offered to put the republic once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that ſervice to be entruſted with the principal

ſhare

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ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. But having communicated his ſcheme to a few choſen confidents, from whom he kept nothing ſecret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of deſperate fortune, capable alike of adviſing and executing the moſt audacious deeds, remonſtrated with earneſtneſs againſt the folly of expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his ſucceſs; and exhorted him warmly to aim himſelf at that preeminence in his country, to which he was deſtined by his illuſtrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raiſed by the zeal of his friends. This diſcourſe opened ſuch great proſpects to Fieſco, and ſo ſuitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other perſons preſent, though ſenſible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not chooſe to condemn what their patron had ſo warmly approved. It was inſtantly reſolved, in this dark cabal, to aſſaſſinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal perſons of their party, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and to place Fieſco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requiſite to ripen ſuch a deſign for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on theſe, Fieſco made it his chief care to guard againſt every thing that might betray his ſecret, or create ſuſpicion. The diſguiſe he aſſumed, was of all others the moſt impenetrable. He ſeemed to be abandoned entirely to pleaſure and

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diſſipation. A perpetual gaiety, diverſified by the purſuit of all the amuſements in which perſons of his age and rank are apt to delight, engroſſed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidſt this hurry of diſſipation, he proſecuted his plan with the moſt cool attention, neither retarding the deſign by a timid heſitation, nor precipitating the execution by an exceſs of impatience. He continued his correſpondence with the French ambaſſador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might ſecure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he ſhould find it neceſſary to call them in to his aid. He entered into a cloſe confederacy with Farneſe Duke of Parma, who being diſguſted with the Emperor for refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any meaſure that tended to diminiſh his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family ſo implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being ſenſible that, in a maritime ſtate, the acquiſition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchaſed four gallies from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the deſign which he had formed, and did not diſapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of theſe gallies to ſail on a cruiſe againſt the Turks, he not only aſſembled a good number of his own vaſſals, but engaged in his ſervice many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their uſual occupation and ſubſiſtence.

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WHILE Fieſco was taking theſe important ſteps, he preſerved ſo admirably his uſual appearance of being devoted entirely to pleaſure and amuſement, and paid court with ſuch artful addreſs to the two Dorias, as impoſed not only on the generous and unſuſpicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who, conſcious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to diſtruſt the deſigns of others. So many inſtruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to ſtrike the blow. Various conſultations were held by Fieſco with his confidents, in order to ſettle the manner of doing it with the greateſt certainty and effect. At firſt, they propoſed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high maſs in the principal church; but as Andrew was often abſent from religious ſolemnities, on account of his great age, that deſign was laid aſide. It was then concerted that Fieſco ſhould invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom he had marked out as victims, to his houſe; where it would be eaſy to cut them off at once without danger or reſiſtance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had choſen, it became neceſſary likewiſe to alter this plan. They at laſt determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by ſtratagem, and fixed on the night between the ſecond and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was choſen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office,

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according to cuſtom, on the firſt of the month, and his ſucceſſor could not be elected ſooner than the fourth, the republic remained during that interval in a ſort of anarchy, and Fieſco might with leſs violence take poſſeſſion of the vacant dignity.

The conſpirators aſſemble to execute their plan.

THE morning of that day Fieſco employed in viſiting his friends, paſſing ſome hours among them with a ſpirit as gay and unembarraſſed as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court to the Dorias with his uſual marks of reſpect, and ſurveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his ſituation, was happy to obſerve the perfect ſecurity in which they remained, without the leaſt foreſight or dread of that ſtorm which had been ſo long a gathering, and was now ready to burſt over their heads. From their palace he haſtened to his own, which ſtood by itſelf in the middle of a large court, ſurrounded by a high wall. The gates had been ſet open in the morning, and all perſons, without diſtinction, were allowed to enter, but ſtrong guards poſted within the court ſuffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few perſons truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, after conducting Fieſco's vaſſals, as well as the crews of his gallies, into the palace in ſmall bodies, with as little noiſe as poſſible, diſperſed themſelves through the city, and, in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be diſguſted with the admini-

administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vaſt number of perſons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpoſe they were aſſembled; the reſt, aſtoniſhed at finding, inſtead of the preparations for a feaſt, a court crowded with armed men, and apartments filled with the inſtruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curioſity, impatience, and terror.

Fieſco's exhortations to them.

While their minds were in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and agitation, Fieſco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence, he addreſſed himſelf to the perſons of chief diſtinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleaſure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He ſet before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous dominion, continued he, you have it now in your power to ſubvert, and to eſtabliſh the freedom of your country on a firm baſis. The tyrants muſt be cut off. I have taken the moſt effectual meaſures for this purpoſe. My aſſociates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if neceſſary. Happily, the tyrants are as ſecure as I have been provident.

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vident. Their inſolent contempt of their countrymen has baniſhed the ſuſpicion and timidity which uſually render the guilty quick-ſighted to diſcern, as well as ſagacious to guard againſt the vengeance which they deſerve. They will now feel the blow, before they ſuſpect any hoſtile hand to be nigh. Let us then ſally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almoſt unaccompanied with danger, and certain of ſucceſs. Theſe words, uttered with that irreſiſtible fervour which animates the mind when rouſed by great objects, made the deſired impreſſion on the audience. Fieſco's vaſſals, ready to execute whatever their maſter ſhould command, received his diſcourſe with a murmur of applauſe. To many whoſe fortunes were deſperate, the licence and confuſion of an inſurrection afforded an agreeable proſpect. Thoſe of higher rank and more virtuous ſentimens, durſt not diſcover the ſurpriſe or horror with which they were ſtruck at the propoſal of an enterprize no leſs unexpected than atrocious; as each of them imagined the other to be in the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by perſons who waited only a ſignal from their leader to perpetrate the greateſt crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud, the undertaking.

His interview with his wife.

Fiesco having thus fixed and encouraged his aſſociates, before he gave them his laſt orders, he haſtened for a moment to the apartment of his wife,

wife, a lady of the noble houſe of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whoſe beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noiſe of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, ſhe concluded ſome hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and ſhe trembled for her huſband. He found her in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impoſſible to keep his deſign concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The proſpect of a ſcene ſo full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal iſſue of it, ſhe endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her deſpair, to divert him from his purpoſe. Fieſco, after trying in vain to ſooth and to inſpire her with hope, broke from a ſituation into which an exceſs of tenderneſs had unwarily ſeduced him, though it could not ſhake his reſolution. "Farewell, he cried, as he quitted the apartment, you ſhall either never ſee me more, or you ſhall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa ſubject to your power."

They attack the city.

As ſoon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper ſtation; ſome were appointed to aſſault and ſeize the different gates of the city; ſome to make themſelves maſters of the principal ſtreets or places of ſtrength: Fieſco reſerved for himſelf the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were laid up, as the poſt of chief importance, and of greateſt danger. It was now

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now midnight, and the citizens ſlept in the ſecurity of peace, when this band of conſpirators, numerous, deſperate, and well-armed, ruſhed out to execute their plan. They ſurpriſed ſome of the gates, without meeting with any reſiſtance. They got poſſeſſion of others after a ſharp conflict with the ſoldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out againſt the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darſena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All poſſibility of eſcape being cut off by this precaution, when Fieſco attempted to enter the gallies from the ſhore, to which they were made faſt, they were in no condition to make reſiſtance, as they were not only unrigged and diſarmed, but had no crew on board, except the ſlaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noiſe and tumult, all the ſtreets reſounding with the cry of *Fieſco* and *Liberty*. At that name, ſo popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conſpirators. The nobles and partiſans of the ariſtocracy, aſtoniſhed or affrighted, ſhut the gates of their houſes, and thought of nothing but of ſecuring them from pillage. At laſt the noiſe excited by this ſcene of violence and confuſion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannetino ſtarted immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occaſioned by ſome mutiny among the ſailors, ruſhed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to paſs, was already in the poſſeſſion of the

conſpirators, who, the moment he appeared, fell upon him with the utmoſt fury, and murdered him on the ſpot. The ſame muſt have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fieſco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the ſordid conſideration of preventing its being plundered amidſt the confuſion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horſeback, ſaved himſelf by flight. Amidſt this general conſternation, a few ſenators had the courage to aſſemble in the palace of the republic[y]. At firſt, ſome of the moſt daring among them attempted to rally the ſcattered ſoldiers, and to attack a body of the conſpirators; but being repulſed with loſs, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible. Deputies were accordingly ſent to learn of Fieſco what were the conceſſions with which he would be ſatisfied, or rather to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

Cauſe of their miſcarriage.

But by this time Fieſco, with whom they were empowered to negociate, was no more. Juſt as he was about to leave the harbour, where every thing had ſucceeded to his wiſh, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard ſome

[y] Il palazza della Signoria.

extra-

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extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noiſe, and fearing that the ſlaves might break their chains, and overpower his aſſociates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the ſhore to the veſſel happening to overturn, he fell into the ſea, whilſt he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he ſunk to the bottom, and periſhed in the very moment when he muſt have taken full poſſeſſion of every thing that his ambitious heart could deſire. Verrina was the firſt who diſcovered this fatal accident, and foreſeeing, at once, all its conſequences, concealed it with the utmoſt induſtry from every one but a few leaders of the conſpiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidſt the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, to have kept it ſecret, until a treaty with the ſenators ſhould have put the city in the power of the conſpirators. All their hopes of this were diſconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fieſco, who, when the deputies of the ſenate inquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their propoſal to him, replied with a childiſh vanity, "I am now the only perſon to whom that title belongs, and with me you muſt treat." Theſe words diſcovered as well to his friends as to his enemies what had happened, and made the impreſſion which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occaſion ſuch a ſudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, aſſumed

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assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partisans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand, the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone; the greater part of those who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved, and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, most of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

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1547. Tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in Genoa.

NEXT morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be ſeen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conſpirators having conducted their enterprize with more noiſe than bloodſhed, and gained all their advantages by ſurpriſe, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the diſgrace as well as danger of the preceding night were freſh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinſman ſtill before his eyes, ſuch was his moderation as well as magnanimity, that the decree iſſued by the ſenate againſt the conſpirators, did not exceed that juſt meaſure of ſeverity which was requiſite for the ſupport of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of reſentment, nor the rancour of revenge [z]. *

The Emperor alarmed at this conſpiracy.

AFTER taking the neceſſary precautions for preventing the flame, which was now ſo happily

[z] Thuan. 93. Sigonii Vita Andræ Doriæ, 1196. La Conjuration du Compte de Fieſque, par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Iſtoria, lib. vi. 369. Folietæ Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fieſci, ap. Græv. Theſ. Ital. i. 883.

* It is remarkable, that Cardinal de Retz, at the age of eighteen, compoſed a hiſtory of this conſpiracy, containing ſuch a diſcovery of his admiration of Fieſco and his enterprize, as render it not ſurpriſing that a miniſter, ſo jealous and diſcerning as Richlieu, ſhould be led, by the peruſal of it, to predict the turbulent and dangerous ſpirit of that young Eccleſiaſtic. Mem. de Retz, tom. i. p. 13.

extin-

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extinguiſhed, from breaking out anew, the firſt care of the ſenate was to ſend an ambaſſador to the Emperor, to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his aſſiſtance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a ſtrong fort on the hereditary eſtate of the Fieſci, in which Jerome had ſhut himſelf up. Charles was no leſs alarmed than aſtoniſhed at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fieſco, how bold or adventurous ſoever, durſt have attempted ſuch an enterprize, but on foreign ſuggeſtion, and from the hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the Duke of Parma was well acquainted with the plan of the conſpirators, he immediately ſuppoſed that the Pope could not be ignorant of a meaſure, which his ſon had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other inſtances rendered extremely probable, he concluded, that the French King muſt have known and approved of the deſign; and he began to apprehend that this ſpark might again kindle the flame of war which had raged ſo long in Italy. As he had drained his Italian territories of troops on account of the German war, he was altogether unprovided for reſiſting any hoſtile attack in that country; and on the firſt appearance of danger, he muſt have detached thither the greateſt part of his forces for its defence. In this ſituation of affairs, it would have been altogether imprudent in the Emperor to have advanced in perſon againſt the Elector,

Suſpends his operations in Germany.

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until he ſhould learn with ſome degree of certainty whether ſuch a ſcene were not about to open in Italy, as might put it out of his power to keep the field with an army ſufficient to oppoſe him.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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THE Emperor's dread of the hoſtile intentions of the Pope and French King did not proceed from any imaginary or ill-grounded ſuſpicion. Paul had already given the ſtrongeſt proofs both of his jealouſy and enmity. Charles could not hope, that Francis, after a rivalſhip of ſo long continuance, would behold the great advantages which he had gained over the confederate Proteſtants, without feeling his ancient emulation revive. He was not deceived in this conjecture. Francis had obſerved the rapid progreſs of his arms with deep concern, and though hitherto prevented, by circumſtances which have been mentioned, from interpoſing in order to check them, he was now convinced that, if he

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1547. Francis jealous of the Emperor's power and ſucceſs.

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1547. did not make ſome extraordinary and timely effort, Charles muſt acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. This apprehenſion, which did not take its riſe from the jealouſy of rivalſhip alone, but was entertained by the wiſeſt politicians of the age, ſuggeſted various expedients which might ſerve to retard the courſe of the Emperor's victories, and to form by degrees ſuch a combination againſt him as might put a ſtop to his dangerous career.

Negociates with the Proteſtants; WITH this view, Francis inſtructed his emiſſaries in Germany to employ all their addreſs in order to revive the courage of the confederates, and to prevent them from ſubmitting to the Emperor. He made liberal offers of his aſſiſtance to the Elector and Landgrave, whom he knew to be the moſt zealous as well as the moſt powerful of the whole body; he uſed every argument, and propoſed every advantage, which could either confirm their dread of the Emperor's deſigns, or determine them not to imitate the inconſiderate credulity of their aſſociates, in giving up their religion and liberties to his diſpoſal. While he took this ſtep towards continuing the civil war which raged in Germany, he endeavoured likewiſe to ſtir up foreign enemies againſt the Emperor. He ſolicited Solyman to ſeize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained of all the troops neceſſary for its defence, in order to form the army

with Solyman;

against

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againſt the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the Pope to repair, by a vigorous and ſeaſonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty in contributing to raiſe the Emperor to ſuch a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the conſciouſneſs of his own miſtake, and his dread of its conſequences, abundantly diſpoſed to liſten to what he ſuggeſted, he availed himſelf of this favourable diſpoſition which the Pontiff began to diſcover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could ſave Italy, and even Europe, from oppreſſion and ſervitude, but their joining with the Pope and him, in giving the firſt beginning to a general confederacy, in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reaſon to dread.

with the Pope and Venetians;

HAVING ſet on foot theſe negociations in the ſouthern courts, he turned his attention next towards thoſe in the north of Europe. As the King of Denmark had particular reaſons to be offended with the Emperor, Francis imagined that the object of the league which he had projected would be highly acceptable to him; and leſt conſiderations of caution or prudence ſhould reſtrain him from joining in it, he attempted to overcome theſe, by offering him the young Queen of Scots in marriage to his ſon [a]. As the miniſters who governed England in the name of Edward VI. had openly

with the Kings of Denmark and England.

[a] Mem. de Ribier, i. 600. 606.

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declared themſelves converts to the opinions of the Reformers, as ſoon as it became ſafe upon Henry's death to lay aſide that diſguiſe which his intolerant bigotry had forced them to aſſume, Francis flattered himſelf that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive ſpectators of the overthrow and deſtruction of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame faith with themſelves. He hoped, that notwithſtanding the ſtruggles of faction incident to a minority, and the proſpect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewiſe to take part in the common cauſe [b].

WHILE Francis employed ſuch a variety of expedients, and exerted himſelf with ſuch extraordinary activity, to rouſe the different ſtates of Europe againſt his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himſelf alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military ſtores; he contracted with the Swiſs cantons for a conſiderable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted conſiderable ſums to the Elector and Landgrave; and took all the other ſteps neceſſary towards commencing hoſtilities, on the ſhorteſt warning, and with the greateſt vigour [c].

The Emperor greatly alarmed.

OPERATIONS ſo complicated, and which required the putting ſo many inſtruments in motion,

[b] Mem. de Ribier, i. 635. [c] Ibid. 595.

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tion, did not escape the Emperor's observation. He was early informed of Francis's intrigues in the several courts of Europe, as well as of his domestic preparations; and sensible how fatal an interruption a foreign war would prove to his designs in Germany, he trembled at the prospect of that event. The danger, however, appeared to him as unavoidable as it was great. He knew the insatiable and well-directed ambition of Solyman, and that he always chose the season for beginning his military enterprises with prudence equal to the valour with which he conducted them. The Pope, as he had good reason to believe, wanted not pretexts to justify a rupture, nor inclination to begin hostilities. He had already made some discovery of his sentiments, by expressing a joy altogether unbecoming the head of the church, upon receiving an account of the advantage which the Elector of Saxony had gained over Albert of Brandenburg; and as he was now secure of finding, in the French King, an ally of sufficient power to support him, he was at no pains to conceal the violence and extent of his enmity [d]. The Venetians, Charles was well assured, had long observed the growth of his power with jealousy, which, added to the solicitations and promises of France, might at last quicken their slow counsels, and overcome their natural caution. The Danes and English, it was evident, had both peculiar reason to be disgusted, as well

[d] Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 637.

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as ſtrong motives to act againſt him. But above all, he dreaded the active emulation of Francis himſelf, whom he conſidered as the ſoul and mover of any confederacy that could be formed againſt him; and, as that Monarch had afforded protection to Verina, who ſailed directly to Marſeilles upon the miſcarriage of Fieſco's conſpiracy, Charles expected every moment to ſee the commencement of thoſe hoſtile operations in Italy, of which he conceived the inſurrection in Genoa to have been only the prelude.

Entertains hope from the declining ſtate of Francis's health.

But while he remained in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude, there was one circumſtance which afforded him ſome proſpect of eſcaping the danger. The French King's health began to decline. A diſeaſe, which was the effect of his inconſiderate purſuit of pleaſure, preyed gradually on his conſtitution. The preparations for war, as well as the negociations in the different courts, began to languiſh, together with the Monarch who gave ſpirit to both. The Genoeſe, during that interval, reduced Montobbio, took Jerome Fieſco priſoner, and putting him to death, together with his chief adherents, extinguiſhed all remains of the conſpiracy. Several of the Imperial cities in Germany, deſpairing of timely aſſiſtance from France, ſubmitted to the Emperor. Even the Landgrave ſeemed diſpoſed to abandon the Elector, and to bring matters to a ſpeedy accommodation, on ſuch terms as he could obtain. In the mean time, Charles waited with impa-

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impatience the iſſue of a diſtemper, which was to decide whether he muſt relinquiſh all other ſchemes, in order to prepare for reſiſting a combination of the greater part of Europe againſt him, or whether he might proceed to invade Saxony, without interruption or fear of danger.

Death of Francis, and reflections on his character and rivalſhip with Charles.

THE good fortune, ſo remarkably propitious to his family, that ſome hiſtorians have called it the *Star of the Houſe of Auſtria*, did not deſert him on this occaſion. Francis died at Rambouillet, on the laſt day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalſhip ſubſiſted between him and the Emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe, in wars, which were proſecuted with more violent animoſity, and drawn out to a greater length, than had been known in any former period. Many circumſtances contributed to this. Their animoſity was founded in oppoſition of intereſt, heightened by perſonal emulation, and exaſperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal inſults. At the ſame time, whatever advantage one ſeemed to poſſeſs towards gaining the aſcendant, was wonderfully balanced by ſome favourable circumſtance peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of greater extent, the French King's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with abſolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he ſupplied the want of authority

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attempts

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attempts towards conqueſt, whatever promiſing aſpect they might wear at firſt, were conducted to an happy iſſue; many of the Emperor's enterpriſes, even after they appeared deſperate and impracticable, terminated in the moſt proſperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the ſplendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the proſpect of its turning to his advantage.

THE degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation has not been fixed either by a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial conſideration of the greatneſs and ſucceſs of their undertakings; and Francis is one of thoſe Monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of Fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumſtances. The ſuperiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preſerved through the remainder of his reign, was ſo manifeſt, that Francis's ſtruggle againſt his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by moſt of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally ariſes for thoſe who gallantly maintain an unequal conteſt, but with the favour due to one who was reſiſting a common enemy, and endeavouring to ſet bounds to a Monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of Princes, too, eſpecially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as

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men. Francis, notwithſtanding the many errors conſpicuous in his foreign policy and domeſtic adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs humane, beneficent, generous. He poſſeſſed dignity without pride; affability free from meanneſs; and courteſy exempt from deceit. All who had acceſs to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, reſpected and loved him. Captivated with his perſonal qualities, his ſubjects forgot his defects as a Monarch, and admiring him as the moſt accompliſhed and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they hardly murmured at acts of male-adminiſtration, which, in a Prince of leſs engaging diſpoſitions, would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, muſt have been temporary only, and would have died away, with the courtiers who beſtowed it; the illuſion ariſing from his private virtues muſt have ceaſed, and poſterity would have judged of his public conduct with its uſual impartiality; but another circumſtance prevented this, and his name hath been tranſmitted to poſterity with increaſing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progreſs in France. They were juſt beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only ſeat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himſelf, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he converſed with them familiarly,

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he employed them in buſineſs, he raiſed them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That order of men, not more prone to complain when denied the reſpect to which they conceive themſelves entitled, than apt to be pleaſed when treated with the diſtinction which they conſider as their due, thought they could not exceed in gratitude to ſuch a benefactor, and ſtrained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric. Succeeding authors, warmed with their deſcriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and even added to them. The appellation of *Father of Letters* beſtowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory ſacred among hiſtorians; and they ſeem to have regarded it as a ſort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithſtanding his inferior abilities, and want of ſucceſs, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The good qualities which he poſſeſſed as a man, have entitled him to greater admiration and praiſe than have been beſtowed upon the extenſive genius and fortunate arts of a more capable, but leſs amiable rival.

Effects of Francis's death.

By his death a conſiderable change was made in the ſtate of Europe. Charles, grown old in the arts of government and command, had now to contend only with younger Monarchs, who could not be regarded as worthy to enter the liſts with him, who had ſtood ſo many encounters with Henry VIII. and Francis I. and come off with honour

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honour in all thoſe different ſtruggles. By this event, he was eaſed of all diſquietude, and was happy to find that he might begin with ſafety thoſe operations againſt the Elector of Saxony, which he had hitherto been obliged to ſuſpend. He knew the abilities of Henry II. who had juſt mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to thoſe of his father, and foreſaw that he would be ſo much occupied for ſome time in diſplacing the late King's miniſters, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread, either from his perſonal efforts, or from any confederacy which this unexperienced Prince could form.

Charles marches againſt the Elector of Saxony. April 13.

But as it was uncertain how long ſuch an interval of ſecurity might continue, Charles determined inſtantly to improve it: and as ſoon as he heard of Francis's demiſe, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had ſo much diminiſhed his army, that ſixteen thouſand men were all he could aſſemble. With this inconſiderable body he ſet out on an expedition, the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he ſhould poſſeſs from that period in Germany: but as this little army conſiſted chiefly of the veteran Spaniſh and Italian bands, he did not, in truſting to them, commit much to the deciſion of chance; and even with ſo ſmall a force he had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. The Elector had levied an army greatly

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greatly ſuperior in number; but neither the experience and diſcipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with thoſe of the Emperor. The Elector, beſides, had already been guilty of an error, which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his ſuperiority in number, and was alone ſufficient to have occaſioned his ruin. Inſtead of keeping his forces united, he detached one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the malecontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a conſiderable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the Emperor would make the firſt impreſſion, vainly imagining that open towns, with ſmall garriſons, might be rendered tenable againſt an enemy.

Progreſs of his arms.

THE Emperor entered the ſouthern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elſter. The impropriety of the meaſure which the Elector had taken was immediately ſeen, the troops poſted in that town ſurrendering without reſiſtance; and thoſe in all the other places between that and the Elbe, either imitated their example, or fled as the Imperialiſts approached. Charles, that they might not recover from the panic with which they ſeemed to be ſtruck, advanced without loſing a moment. The Elector, who had fixed his head-quarters at Meiſſen, continued in his wonted ſtate of fluctuation and uncertainty. He even became more undetermined, in proportion as the danger

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danger drew near, and called for prompt and deciſive reſolutions. Sometimes he acted, as if he had reſolved to defend the banks of the Elbe, and to hazard a battle with the enemy, as ſoon as the detachments which he had called in were able to join him. At other times, he abandoned this as raſh and perilous, ſeeming to adopt the more prudent counſels of thoſe who adviſed him to endeavour at protracting the war, and for that end to retire under the fortifications of Wittemberg, where the Imperialiſts could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage, and where he might wait, in ſafety, for the ſuccours which he expected from Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and the Proteſtant cities on the Baltic. Without fixing upon either of theſe plans, he broke down the bridge at Meiſſen, and marched along the eaſt bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he deliberated anew, and, after much heſitation, adopted one of thoſe middle ſchemes, which are always acceptable to feeble minds incapable of deciding. He left a detachment at Muhlberg to oppoſe the Imperialiſts, if they ſhould attempt to paſs at that place, and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped there in expectation of the event, according to which he propoſed to regulate his ſubſequent motions.

Paſſes the Elbe.

CHARLES, meanwhile, puſhing forward inceſſantly, arrived the evening of the twenty-third of April on the banks of the Elbe, oppoſite to Muhlberg.

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berg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank poſſeſſed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undiſmayed, however, by all theſe obſtacles, he called together his general officers, and, without aſking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his paſſage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at ſuch a bold reſolution; and even the Duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithſtanding his impatience to cruſh his rival the Elector, remonſtrated earneſtly againſt it. But the Emperor, confiding in his own judgment or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders neceſſary for executing his deſign.

EARLY in the morning a body of Spaniſh and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an inceſſant fire upon the enemy. The long heavy muſkets uſed in that age, did execution on the oppoſite bank, and many of the ſoldiers, hurried on by a martial ardour in order to get nearer the enemy, ruſhed into the ſtream, and, advancing breaſt-high, fired with a more certain aim, and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire, a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry; and a peaſant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by

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a ford with which he was well acquainted, they alſo were put in motion. The Saxons poſted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obſtruct theſe operations, by a briſk fire from a battery which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the Imperialiſts ſuffered very little; at the ſame time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they ſet on fire ſome boats which had been collected near the village, and prepared to retire. The Imperialiſts perceiving this, ten Spaniſh ſoldiers inſtantly ſtript themſelves, and holding their ſwords with their teeth, ſwam acroſs the river, put to flight ſuch of the Saxons as ventured to oppoſe them, ſaved from the flames as many boats as were ſufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this ſpirited and ſucceſsful action, encouraged their companions no leſs than they intimidated the enemy.

By this time, the cavalry, each trooper having a foot ſoldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light horſe marching in the front, followed by the men at arms, whom the Emperor led in perſon, mounted on a Spaniſh horſe, dreſſed in a ſumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body ſtruggling through a great river, in which, according to the directions of their guide, they were obliged to make ſeveral turns, ſometimes treading on a firm bottom, ſometimes ſwimming, preſented to their companions,

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nions, whom they left behind, a ſpectacle equally magnificent and intereſting[d]. Their courage, at laſt, ſurmounted every obſtacle, no man betraying any ſymptom of fear, when the Emperor ſhared in the danger no leſs than the meaneſt ſoldier. The moment that they reached the oppoſite ſide, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the reſt of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had paſſed along with him, who, fluſhed with their good fortune, and deſpiſing an enemy who had neglected to oppoſe them, when it might have been done with ſuch advantage, made no account of their ſuperior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

Ill conduct of the Elector.

DURING all theſe operations, which neceſſarily conſumed much time, the Elector remained inactive in his camp; and from an infatuation which appears to be ſo amazing, that the beſt informed hiſtorians impute it to the treacherous arts of his generals who deceived him by falſe intelligence, he would not believe that the Emperor had paſſed the river, or could be ſo near at hand[e]. Being convinced, at laſt, of his fatal miſtake, by the concurring teſtimony of eye-witneſſes, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But a German army, encumbered, as uſual, with baggage and artillery, could not be put ſuddenly in

[d] Avila, 115, a.

[e] Camerar. ap. Freher. iii. 493. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. 1047. 1049.

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Battle of Mulhauſen.

motion. They had juſt begun to march when the light troops of the enemy came in view, and the Elector ſaw an engagement to be unavoidable. As he was no leſs bold in action than irreſolute in council, he made the diſpoſition for battle with the greateſt preſence of mind, and in the moſt proper manner; taking advantage of a great foreſt to cover his wings, ſo as to prevent his being ſurrounded by the enemy's cavalry, which were far more numerous than his own. The Emperor, likewiſe, ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. It was with a very different ſpirit that the two armies advanced to the charge. As the day, which had hitherto been dark and cloudy, happened to clear up at that moment, this accidental circumſtance made an impreſſion on the different parties correſponding to the tone of their minds; the Saxons, ſurpriſed and diſheartened, felt pain at being expoſed fully to the view of the enemy; the Imperialiſts, being now ſecure that the Proteſtant forces could not eſcape from them, rejoiced at the return of ſun-ſhine, as a certain preſage of victory. The ſhock of battle would not have been long doubtful, if the perſonal courage which the Elector diſplayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all poſſibility of heſitation, had not revived in ſome degree the ſpirit of his troops. They repulſed the Hungarian light-horſe who began the attack, and received with

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firmneſs the men at arms who next advanced to the charge; but as theſe were the flower of the Imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the Emperor's eye, the Saxons ſoon began to give way, and the light troops rallying at the ſame time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A ſmall body of choſen ſoldiers, among whom the Elector had fought in perſon, ſtill continued to defend themſelves, and endeavoured to ſave their maſter by retiring into the foreſt; but being ſurrounded on every ſide, the Elector wounded in the face, exhauſted with fatigue, and perceiving all reſiſtance to be vain, ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. He was conducted immediately towards the Emperor, whom he found juſt returned from the purſuit, ſtanding on the field of battle in the full exultation of ſucceſs, and receiving the congratulations of his officers, upon this complete victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in ſuch an unfortunate and humbling ſituation, the Elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. Senſible of his condition, he approached his conqueror without any of the ſullenneſs or pride which would have been improper in a captive; and conſcious of his own dignity, he deſcended to no mean ſubmiſſion, unbecoming the high ſtation which he held among the German Princes. "The fortune of war, ſaid he, has made me your priſoner, moſt gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated"——

The Elector defeated, and taken priſoner.

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Here, Charles harſhly interrupted him: "And am I then, at laſt, acknowledged to be Emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You ſhall be treated as you deſerve." At theſe words he turned from him abruptly with an haughty air. To this cruel repulſe, the King of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, uſing expreſſions ſtill more ungenerous and inſulting. The Elector made no reply; but, with an unaltered countenance, which diſcovered neither aſtoniſhment nor dejection, accompanied the Spaniſh ſoldiers appointed to guard him[f].

Charles's progreſs after his victory.

THIS deciſive victory coſt the Imperialiſts only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed, chiefly in the purſuit, and a greater number taken priſoners. About four hundred kept in a body, and eſcaped to Wittemberg, together with the Electoral Prince, who had likewiſe been wounded in the action. After reſting two days in the field of battle, partly to refreſh his army, and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to ſecure his protection by ſubmitting to his will, the Emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once, by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate Elector was

[f] Sleid. Hiſt. 426. Thuan. 136. Hortenſius de Bello German. ap. Scard. vol. ii. 498. Deſcript. Pugnæ Mulberg. ibid. p. 509. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xii. c. 13. p. 298.

carried

carried along in a ſort of triumph, and expoſed every where, as a captive, to his own ſubjects; a ſpectacle extremely afflicting to them, who both honoured and loved him; though the inſult was ſo far from ſubduing his firm ſpirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and compoſure of his mind. 1547.

Inveſts Wittemberg.

As Wittemberg, the reſidence, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family, was one of the ſtrongeſt cities in Germany, and could not be taken, if properly defended, without great difficulty, the Emperor marched thither with the utmoſt diſpatch, hoping that while the conſternation occaſioned by his victory was ſtill recent, the inhabitants might imitate the example of their countrymen, and ſubmit to his power, as ſoon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector's wife, a woman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by her abilities than her virtue, inſtead of abandoning herſelf to tears and lamentations upon her huſband's misfortune, endeavoured, by her example as well as exhortations, to animate the citizens. She inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that, when ſummoned to ſurrender, they returned a vigorous anſwer, warning the Emperor to behave towards their ſovereign with the reſpect due to his rank, as they were determined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was ſtill a priſoner, preciſely in the ſame manner that he treated the Elector. The ſpirit of the inhabitants, no leſs than the ſtrength of the city, ſeemed now to render a ſiege in form

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neceſſary. After ſuch a ſignal victory it would have been diſgraceful not to have undertaken it, though at the ſame time the Emperor was deſtitute of every thing requiſite for carrying it on. But Maurice removed all difficulties by engaging to furniſh proviſions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and whatever elſe ſhould be needed. Truſting to this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches before the town. It quickly appeared, that Maurice's eagerneſs to reduce the capital of thoſe dominions, which he expected as his reward for taking arms againſt his kinſman, and deſerting the Proteſtant cauſe, had led him to promiſe what exceeded his power to perform. A battering train was, indeed, carried ſafely down the Elbe from Dreſden to Wittemberg; but as Maurice had not ſufficient force to preſerve a ſecure communication between his own territories and the camp of the beſiegers, Count Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electoral troops, intercepted and deſtroyed a convoy of proviſions and military ſtores, and diſperſed a band of pioneers deſtined for the ſervice of the Imperialiſts. This put a ſtop to the progreſs of the ſiege, and convinced the Emperor, that as he could not rely on Maurice's promiſes, recourſe ought to be had to ſome more expeditious as well as more certain method of getting poſſeſſion of the town.

The Emperor's ungenerous treatment of the Elector.

THE unfortunate Elector was in his hands, and Charles was ungenerous and hard-hearted enough to take advantage of this, in order to make

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make an experiment whether he might not bring about his design, by working upon the tenderness of a wife for her husband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view, he summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates, letting her know that if she again refused to comply, the Elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. To convince her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial. The proceedings against him were as irregular as the stratagem was barbarous. Instead of consulting the states of the Empire, or remitting the cause to any court, which, according to the German constitution, might have legally taken cognizance of the Elector's crime, he subjected the greatest Prince in the Empire to the jurisdiction of a court-martial, composed of Spanish and Italian officers, and in which the unrelenting Duke of Alva, a fit instrument for any act of violence, presided. This strange tribunal founded its charge upon the ban of the Empire which had been issued against the prisoner by the sole authority of the Emperor, and was destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid. But the court-martial, presuming the Elector to be thereby manifestly convicted of treason and rebellion, condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the Elector while he was amusing himself in playing at Chess with Ernest of Brunswick his fellow-prisoner. He paused for a moment, though without discovering any symptom either

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either of ſurprize or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injuſtice of the Emperor's proceedings: "It is eaſy, continued he, to comprehend his ſcheme. I muſt die, becauſe Wittemberg will not ſurrender; and I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, if, by that ſacrifice, I can preſerve the dignity of my houſe, and tranſmit to my poſterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God, that this ſentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me! and that they, for the ſake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honours and territories which they were born to poſſeſs [g]!" He then turned to his antagoniſt, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his uſual attention and ingenuity, and having beat Erneſt, expreſſed all the ſatisfaction which is commonly felt on gaining ſuch victories. After this, he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the reſt of his time in ſuch religious exerciſes as were proper in his ſituation [h].

The diſtreſs of his family.

It was not with the ſame indifference, or compoſure, that the account of the Elector's danger was received in Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminiſh his power

[g] Thuan. i. 142. [h] Struvii Corpus, 1050.

or

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r territories, felt all her reſolution fail as ſoon as is life was threatened. Solicitous to ſave that, he deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was illing to make any ſacrifice, in order to appeaſe n incenſed conqueror. At the ſame time, the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives of his violent proceedings gainſt the Elector, interceded warmly with him o ſpare his life. The firſt was prompted to do ſo merely by compaſſion for his ſiſter, and regard for his brother-in-law. The two others dreaded the niverſal reproach that they would incur, if, after having boaſted ſo often of the ample ſecurity which the Emperor had promiſed them with reſpect to their religion, the firſt effect of their union with him ſhould be the public execution of a Prince, who was juſtly held in reverence as the moſt zealous protector of the Proteſtant cauſe. Maurice, in particular, foreſaw that he muſt become the object of deteſtation to the Saxons, and could never hope to govern them with tranquillity, if he were conſidered by them as acceſſary to the death of his neareſt kinſman, in order that he might obtain poſſeſſion of his dominions.

His treaty with Charles, by which he ſurrenders the Electorate;

WHILE they, from ſuch various motives, ſolicited Charles, with the moſt earneſt importunity, not to execute the ſentence; Sybilla, and his children, conjured the Elector, by letters as well as meſſengers, to ſcruple at no conceſſion that would extricate

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1547. extricate him out of the preſent danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguiſh on his account. The Emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to prodcce the effect that he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himſelf to ſoften into promiſes of clemency and forgiveneſs, if the Elector would ſhew himſelf worthy of his favour, by ſubmitting to reaſonable terms. The Elector, on whom the conſideration of what he might ſuffer himſelf had made no impreſſion, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not re-

May 19. ſiſt the intreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated ſolicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. The chief of them were, that he ſhould reſign the Electoral dignity, as well for himſelf as for his poſterity, into the Emperor's hands, to be diſpoſed of entirely at his pleaſure; that he ſhould inſtantly put the Imperial troops in poſſeſſion of the cities of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he ſhould ſet Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ranſom; that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, and acquieſce in whatever reformation the Emperor ſhould make in the conſtitution of that court; that he ſhould renounce all leagues againſt the Emperor or King of the Romans, and enter into no alliance for the future, in which they were not comprehended. In return for theſe important conceſſions, the Emperor not only promiſed to ſpare his

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life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territories, together with an annual pension of fifty thousand florins, payable out of the revenues of the Electorate; and likewise to grant him a sum in ready money to be applied towards the discharge of his debts. Even these articles of grace were clogged with the mortifying condition of his remaining the Emperor's prisoner during the rest of his life[i]. To the whole, Charles had subjoined, that he should submit to the decrees of the Pope and council with regard to the controverted points in religion; but the Elector, though he had been persuaded to sacrifice all the objects which men commonly hold to be the dearest and most valuable, was inflexible with regard to this point; and neither threats nor intreaties could prevail to make him renounce what he deemed to be truth, or persuade him to act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

and remains a prisoner.

As soon as the Saxon garrison marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deserted the Protestant cause, and having contributed with such success towards the dissolution of the Smalkaldic league, he gave him possession of that city, together with all the other towns in the Electorate. It was not without reluctance, however, that he made such a sacrifice;

Maurice put in possession of the Electoral dominions.

[i] Sleid. 427. Thuan. i. 142. Du Mont, Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 332.

the

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the extraordinary ſucceſs of his arms had begun to operate, in its uſual manner, upon his ambitious mind, ſuggeſting new and vaſt projects for the aggrandizement of his family, towards the accompliſhment of which the retaining of Saxony would have been of the utmoſt conſequence. But as this ſcheme was not then ripe for execution, he durſt not yet venture to diſcloſe it; nor would it have been either ſafe or prudent to offend Maurice, at that juncture, by ſuch a manifeſt violation of all the promiſes, which had ſeduced him to abandon his natural allies.

Negociations with the Landgrave.

THE Landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was ſtill in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Proteſtant cauſe, was neither a feeble nor contemptible enemy. His dominions were of conſiderable extent; his ſubjects animated with zeal for the Reformation; and if he could have held the Imperialiſts at bay for a ſhort time, he had much to hope from a party whoſe ſtrength was ſtill unbroken, whoſe union as well as vigour might return, and which had reaſon to depend, with certainty, on being effectually ſupported by the King of France. The Landgrave thought not of any thing ſo bold or adventurous; but being ſeized with the ſame conſternation which had taken poſſeſſion of his aſſociates, he was intent only on the means of procuring favourable terms from the Emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror, to whoſe will there was a neceſſity of ſubmitting.

Maurice

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Maurice encouraged this tame and pacific ſpirit, by magnifying, on the one hand, the Emperor's power; by boaſting, on the other, of his own intereſt with his victorious ally; and by repreſenting the advantageous conditions which he could not fail of obtaining by his interceſſion for a friend, whom he was ſo ſolicitous to ſave. Sometimes the Landgrave was induced to place ſuch unbounded confidence in his promiſes, that he was impatient to bring matters to a final accommodation. On other occaſions, the Emperor's exorbitant ambition, reſtrained neither by the ſcruples of decency, nor the maxims of juſtice, together with the recent and ſhocking proof which he had given of this in his treatment of the Elector of Saxony, came ſo full into his thoughts, and made ſuch a lively impreſſion on them, that he broke off abruptly the negociations which he had begun; ſeeming to be convinced that it was more prudent to depend for ſafety on his own arms, than to confide in Charles's generoſity. But this bold reſolution, which deſpair had ſuggeſted to an impatient ſpirit, fretted by diſappointments, was not of long continuance. Upon a more deliberate ſurvey of the enemy's power, as well as his own weakneſs, his doubts and fears returned upon him, and together with them the ſpirit of negociating, and the deſire of accommodation.

The conditions preſcribed by the Emperor.

MAURICE, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as mediators between him and the Emperor;

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peror; and after all that the former had vaunted of his influence, the conditions preſcribed to the Landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the Emperor's authority, and ſubmitting to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, were the ſame which had been impoſed on the Elector of Saxony. Beſides theſe, he was required to ſurrender his perſon and territories to the Emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns towards defraying the expences of the war; to demoliſh the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garriſon which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor; to allow a free paſſage through his territories to the Imperial troops as often as it ſhall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the Emperor; to ſet at liberty, without ranſom, Henry of Brunſwick, together with the other priſoners whom he had taken during the war; and neither to take arms himſelf, nor to permit any of his ſubjects to ſerve, againſt the Emperor or his allies for the future [k].

To which he ſubmits.

THE Landgrave ratified theſe articles, though with the utmoſt reluctance, as they contained no ſtipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him entirely at the

[k] Sleid. 430. Thuan. l. iv. 146.

Emperor's

Emperor's mercy. Neceſſity, however, compelled him to give his aſſent to them. Charles, who had aſſumed the haughty and imperious tone of a conqueror, ever ſince the reduction of Saxony, inſiſted on unconditional ſubmiſſion, and would permit nothing to be added to the terms which he had preſcribed, that could in any degree limit the fulneſs of his power, or reſtrain him from behaving as he ſaw meet towards a Prince whom he regarded as abſolutely at his diſpoſal. But though he would not vouchſafe to negociate with the Landgrave, on ſuch a footing of equality, as to ſuffer any article to be inſerted among thoſe which he had dictated to him, that could be conſidered as a formal ſtipulation for the ſecurity and freedom of his perſon; he, or his miniſters in his name, gave the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice ſuch full ſatisfaction with regard to this point, that they aſſured the Landgrave, that Charles would behave to him in the ſame way as he had done to the Duke of Wurtemberg, and would allow him, whenever he had made his ſubmiſſion, to return to his own territories. Upon finding the Landgrave to be ſtill poſſeſſed with his former ſuſpicions of the Emperor's intentions, and unwilling to truſt verbal or ambiguous declarations, in a matter of ſuch eſſential concern as his own liberty, they ſent him a bond ſigned by them both, containing the moſt ſolemn obligations, that if any violence whatſoever was offered to his perſon, during his interview with the Emperor, they would inſtantly ſurrender themſelves

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to his ſons, and remain in their hands to be treated by them in the ſame manner as the Emperor ſhould treat him [1].

He repairs to the Imperial court.

THIS, together with the indiſpenſable obligation of performing what was contained in the articles of which he had accepted, removed his doubts and ſcruples, or made it neceſſary to get over them. He repaired, for that purpoſe, to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony, where a circumſtance occurred which revived his ſuſpicions and increaſed his fears. Juſt as he was about to enter the chamber of preſence, in order to make his public ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, a copy of the articles which he had approved of was put into his hands, in order that he might ratify them anew. Upon peruſing them, he perceived that the Imperial miniſters had added two new articles; one importing, that if any diſpute ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of the former conditions, the Emperor ſhould have the right of putting what interpretation upon them he thought moſt reaſonable; the other, that the Landgrave was bound to ſubmit implicitly to the deciſions of the council of Trent. This unworthy artifice, calculated to ſurpriſe him into an approbation of articles, to which he had not the moſt diſtant idea of aſſenting, by propoſing them to him at a time when his mind was engroſſed and diſquieted with the thoughts of

[1] Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 336.

that

that humiliating ceremony which he had to perform, filled the Landgrave with indignation, and made him break out into all thoſe violent expreſſions of rage to which his temper was prone. With ſome difficulty, the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the Emperor's miniſters to drop the former article as unjuſt, and to explain the latter in ſuch a manner, that he could agree to it, without openly renouncing the Proteſtant religion.

The manner in which the Emperor received him.

THIS obſtacle being ſurmounted, the Landgrave was impatient to finiſh a ceremony which, how mortifying ſoever, had been declared neceſſary towards his obtaining pardon. The Emperor was ſeated on a magnificent throne, with all the enſigns of his dignity, ſurrounded by a numerous train of the Princes of the Empire, among whom was Henry of Brunſwick, lately the Landgrave's priſoner, and now, by a ſudden reverſe of fortune, a ſpectator of his humiliation. The Landgrave was introduced with great ſolemnity, and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his maſter's command, a paper which contained an humble confeſſion of the crime whereof he had been guilty; an acknowledgment that he had merited on that account the moſt ſevere puniſhment; an abſolute reſignation of himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of at the Emperor's pleaſure; a ſubmiſſive petition for pardon, his hopes of

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which were founded entirely on the Emperor's clemency; and it concluded with promiſes of behaving, for the future, like a ſubject whoſe principles of loyalty and obedience would be confirmed, and would even derive new force from the ſentiments of gratitude which muſt hereafter fill and animate his heart. While the chancellor was reading this abject declaration, the eyes of all the ſpectators were fixed on the unfortunate Landgrave; few could behold a Prince, ſo powerful as well as high-ſpirited, ſuing for mercy in the poſture of a ſuppliant, without being touched with commiſeration, and perceiving ſerious reflections ariſe in their minds upon the inſtability and emptineſs of human grandeur. The Emperor viewed the whole tranſaction with an haughty unfeeling compoſure; and preſerving a profound ſilence himſelf, made a ſign to one of his ſecretaries to read his anſwer; the tenor of which was, That though he might have juſtly inflicted on him the grievous puniſhment which his crimes deſerved, yet, prompted by his own generoſity, moved by the ſolicitations of ſeveral Princes in behalf of the Landgrave, and influenced by his penitential acknowledgments, he would not deal with him according to the rigour of juſtice, and would ſubject him to no penalty that was not ſpecified in the articles which he had already ſubſcribed. The moment the ſecretary had finiſhed, Charles turned away abruptly, without deigning to give the unhappy ſuppliant any ſign of compaſſion or reconcilement. He did not even

deſire

desire him to rise from his knees; which the Landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the Emperor with an intention to kiss his hand, flattering himself, that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might presume to take that liberty. But the Elector of Brandenburg, perceiving that this familiarity would be offensive to the Emperor, interposed, and desired the Landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the Duke of Alva's apartments in the castle.

He was received and entertained by that nobleman with the respect and courtesy due to such a guest. But after supper, while he was engaged in play, the Duke took the Elector and Maurice aside, and communicated to them the Emperor's orders, that the Landgrave must remain a prisoner in that place under the custody of a Spanish guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the most distant suspicion of the Emperor's sincerity or rectitude of intention, their surprise was excessive, and their indignation not inferior to it, on discovering how greatly they had been deceived themselves, and how infamously abused, in having been made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourse to complaints, to arguments, and to intreaties, in order to save themselves from that disgrace, and to extricate him out of the wretched situation into which he had been betrayed by too great confidence in them. But the Duke of Alva remained inflexible, and plead-

He is detained a prisoner.

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ed the neceſſity of executing the Emperor's commands. By this time it grew late, and the Landgrave, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, nor dreaded the ſnare in which he was entangled, prepared for departing, when the fatal orders were intimated to him. He was ſtruck dumb at firſt with aſtoniſhment, but after being ſilent a few moments, he broke out into all the violent expreſſions which horror, at injuſtice accompanied with fraud, naturally ſuggeſts. He complained, he expoſtulated, he exclaimed; ſometimes inveighing againſt the Emperor's artifices as unworthy of a great and generous Prince; ſometimes cenſuring the credulity of his friends in truſting to Charles's inſidious promiſes; ſometimes charging them with meanneſs in ſtooping to lend their aſſiſtance towards the execution of ſuch a perfidious and diſhonourable ſcheme; and in the end he required them to remember their engagements to his children, and inſtantly to fulfil them. They, after giving way for a little to the torrent of his paſſion, ſolemnly aſſerted their own innocence and upright intention in the whole tranſaction, and encouraged him to hope, that as ſoon as they ſaw the Emperor, they would obtain redreſs of an injury, which affected their own honour, no leſs than it did his liberty. At the ſame time, in order to ſoothe his rage and impatience, Maurice remained with him during the night, in the apartment where he was confined [m].

[m] Sleid. 433. Thuan. l. iv. 147. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. ii. 1052.

NEXT

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NEXT morning, the Elector and Maurice applied jointly to the Emperor, representing the infamy to which they would be exposed throughout Germany, if the Landgrave were detained in custody; that they would not have advised, nor would he himself have consented to an interview, if they had suspected that the loss of his liberty was to be the consequence of his submission; that they were bound to procure his release, having plighted their faith to that effect, and engaged their own persons as sureties for his. Charles listened to their earnest remonstrances with the utmost coolness. As he now stood no longer in need of their services, they had the mortification to find that their former obsequiousness was forgotten, and little regard paid to their intercession. He was ignorant, he told them, of their particular or private transactions with the Landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by any engagements into which they had thought fit to enter; though he knew well what he himself had promised, which was not that the Landgrave should be exempt from all restraint, but that he should not be kept a prisoner during life *. Having

* According to several historians of great name, the Emperor, in his treaty with the Landgrave, stipulated that he would not detain him in any prison. But in executing the deed, which was written in the German tongue, the Imperial ministers fraudulently substituted the word *ewiger*, instead of *einiger*, and thus the treaty, in place of a promise that he

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ing ſaid this with a peremptory and deciſive tone, he put an end to the conference; and they ſeeing no probability, at that time, of making any impreſſion upon the Emperor, who ſeemed to have taken this reſolution deliberately, and to be obſtinately bent on adhering to it, were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate priſoner with the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours in his behalf. The diſappointment threw him into a new and more violent tranſport of rage, ſo that to prevent his proceeding to ſome deſperate extremity, the Elector and Maurice promiſed that they would not quit the Emperor, until, by the frequency and fervour of their interceſſions, they had extorted his conſent to ſet him free. They accordingly renewed their ſolicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned that if

ſhould not be detained in *any* priſon, contained only an engagement that he ſhould not be detained in *perpetual* impriſonment. But authors, eminent for hiſtorical knowledge and critical accuracy, have called in queſtion the truth of this common ſtory. The ſilence of Sleidan with regard to it, as well as its not being mentioned in the various memorials which he has publiſhed concerning the Landgrave's impriſonment, greatly favour this opinion. But as ſeveral books which contain the information neceſſary towards diſcuſſing this point with accuracy, are written in the German language, which I do not underſtand, I cannot pretend to inquire into this matter with the ſame preciſion wherewith I have endeavoured to ſettle ſome other controverted facts which have occurred in the courſe of this hiſtory. See Struv. Corp. 1052. Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 161, 162. Engl. edition.

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they touched again upon a ſubject ſo diſagreeable, and with regard to which he had determined to hear nothing farther, he would inſtantly give orders to convey the priſoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the Landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to ſerve him, they not only deſiſted, but left the court, and as they did not chuſe to meet the firſt ſallies of the Landgrave's rage upon his learning the cauſe of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promiſed to the Emperor, as the moſt certain means of procuring a ſpeedy releaſe.

His impatience under reſtraint.

WHATEVER violent emotions their abandoning his cauſe in this manner occaſioned, the Landgrave's impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the ſum which had been impoſed on him, ordered his fortreſſes to be razed, and renounced all alliances which could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was ſtill guarded with the ſame vigilant ſeverity; and being carried about, together with the degraded Elector of Saxony, wherever the Emperor went, their diſgrace and his triumph was each day renewed. The fortitude as well as equanimity, with which the Elector bore theſe repeated inſults, were not more remarkable than the Landgrave's fretfulneſs and impatience. His active impetuous mind could ill brook reſtraint; and

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and reflection upon the ſhameful artifices, by which he had been decoyed into that ſituation, as well as indignation at the injuſtice with which he was ſtill detained in it, drove him often to the wildeſt exceſſes of paſſion.

The rigour of the Emperor's exactions in Germany.

THE people of the different cities, to whom Charles thus wantonly expoſed thoſe illuſtrious priſoners as a public ſpectacle, were ſenſibly touched with ſuch an inſult offered to the Germanic body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greateſt Princes. They had ſoon other cauſes of complaint, and ſuch as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppreſſion to inſult, and arrogating to himſelf all the rights of a conqueror, exerciſed them with the utmoſt rigour. He ordered his troops to ſeize the artillery and military ſtores belonging to ſuch as had been members of the Smalkaldic league, and having collected upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he ſent part of them into the Low-Countries, part into Italy, and part into Spain, in order to ſpread by this means the fame of his ſucceſs, and that they might ſerve as monuments of his having ſubdued a nation hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied, by his ſole authority, large ſums of money, as well upon thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity during the war, as upon ſuch as had been in arms againſt him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war, which, having been undertaken, as he pretended,

tended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of puniſhment for their rebellion. By theſe exactions, he amaſſed above one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum which appeared prodigious in the ſixteenth century. But ſo general was the conſternation which had ſeized the Germans upon his rapid ſucceſs, and ſuch their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the ſame time, theſe extraordinary ſtretches of power greatly alarmed a people jealous of their privileges, and habituated, during ſeveral ages, to conſider the Imperial authority as neither extenſive nor formidable. This diſcontent and reſentment, how induſtriouſly ſoever they concealed them, became univerſal; and the more theſe paſſions were reſtrained and kept down for the preſent, the more likely were they to burſt out ſoon with additional violence.

Ferdinand's encroachments on the liberties of his Bohemian ſubjects.

WHILE Charles gave law to the Germans like a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his ſubjects in Bohemia with ſtill greater rigour. That kingdom poſſeſſed privileges and immunities as extenſive as thoſe of any nation in which the feudal inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed. The prerogative of their Kings was extremely limited, and the crown itſelf elective. Ferdinand, when raiſed to the throne, had confirmed their liberties with every ſolemnity preſcribed by their exceſſive ſolicitude for the ſecurity of a conſtitution of government to which

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1547. which they were extremely attached. He ſoon began, however, to be weary of a juriſdiction ſo much circumſcribed, and to deſpiſe a ſceptre which he could not tranſmit to his poſterity; and notwithſtanding all his former engagements, he attempted to overturn the conſtitution from its foundations; that, inſtead of an elective kingdom, he might render it hereditary. But the Bohemians were too high-ſpirited tamely to relinquiſh privileges which they had long enjoyed. At the ſame time, many of them having embraced the doctrines of the Reformers, the ſeeds of which John Huſs and Jerome of Prague had planted in their country about the beginning of the preceding century, the deſire of acquiring religious liberty mingled itſelf with their zeal for their civil rights; and theſe two kindred paſſions heightening, as uſual, each other's force, precipitated them immediately into violent meaſures. They had not only refuſed to ſerve their ſovereign againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, but having entered into a cloſe alliance with the Elector of Saxony, they had bound themſelves, by a ſolemn aſſociation, to defend their ancient conſtitution; and to perſiſt, until they ſhould obtain ſuch additional privileges as they thought neceſſary towards perfecting the preſent model of their government, or rendering it more permanent. They choſe Caſpar Phlug, a nobleman of diſtinction, to be their general; and raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men to enforce their petitions. But either from the weakneſs of their leader, or

from the diſſenſions in a great unwieldy body, which, having united haſtily, was not thoroughly compacted, or from ſome other unknown cauſe, the ſubſequent operations of the Bohemians bore no proportion to the zeal and ardour with which they took their firſt reſolutions. They ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed ſo long with negociations and overtures of different kinds, that before they could enter Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, the Elector deprived of his dignity and territories, the Landgrave confined to cloſe cuſtody, and the league of Smalkalde entirely diſſipated. The ſame dread of the Emperor's power which had ſeized the reſt of the Germans, reached them. As ſoon as their ſovereign approached with a body of Imperial troops, they inſtantly diſperſed, thinking of nothing but how to atone for their paſt guilt, and to acquire ſome hope of forgiveneſs by a prompt ſubmiſſion. But Ferdinand, who entered his dominions full of that implacable reſentment which inflames Monarchs whoſe authority has been deſpiſed, was not to be mollified by the late repentance and involuntary return of rebellious ſubjects to their duty. He even heard, unmoved, the intreaties and tears of the citizens of Prague, who appeared before him in the poſture of ſuppliants, and implored for mercy. The ſentence which he pronounced againſt them was rigorous to extremity; he aboliſhed many of their privileges, he abridged others, and new-modelled the conſtitution according to his pleaſure. He condemned

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condemned to death many of thoſe who had been moſt active in forming the late aſſociation againſt him, and puniſhed ſtill a greater number with confiſcation of their goods, or perpetual baniſhment. He obliged all his ſubjects, of every condition, to give up their arms to be depoſited in forts where he planted garriſons; and after diſarming his people, he loaded them with new and exorbitant taxes. Thus, by an ill-conducted and unſucceſsful effort to extend their privileges, the Bohemians not only enlarged the ſphere of the royal prerogative, when they intended to have circumſcribed it, but they almoſt annihilated thoſe liberties which they aimed at eſtabliſhing on a broader and more ſecure foundation [n].

Diet held at Augſburg.

THE Emperor, having now humbled, and, as he imagined, ſubdued the independent and ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of puniſhment, held a diet at Augſburg, in order to compoſe finally the controverſies with regard to religion, which had ſo long diſturbed the Empire. He durſt not, however, truſt the determination of a matter ſo intereſting to the free ſuffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to ſubjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spaniſh troops, and aſſigned them quarters there. The reſt of his ſoldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; ſo that the mem-

[n] Sleid. 408. 419. 434. Thuan. l. iv. 129. 150. Struv. Corp. ii.

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bers of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were ſurrounded by the ſame army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took poſſeſſion by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches; and his prieſts having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they ſuppoſed the unhallowed miniſtrations of the Proteſtants to have defiled them, they re-eſtabliſhed with great pomp the rites of the Romiſh worſhip °.

The Emperor exhorts them to ſubmit to the General Council.

THE concourſe of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, added to the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an abſence which lay open to miſconſtruction, brought together almoſt all the Princes, nobles, and repreſentatives of cities who had a right to ſit in that aſſembly. The Emperor, in the ſpeech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to that point, which ſeemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious diſſenſions which had ariſen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to thoſe evils, he exhorted them to recogniſe its authority, and to acquieſce in the deci-

° Sleid. 435. 437.

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sions of an assembly to which they had originally appealed, as having the sole right of judgment in the case.

Various revolutions in the council.

But the council, to which Charles wished them to refer all their controversies, had, by this time, undergone a violent change. The fear and jealousy, with which the Emperor's first successes against the confederates of Smalkalde had inspired the Pope, continued to increase. Not satisfied with attempting to retard the progress of the Imperial arms, by the sudden recal of his troops, Paul began to consider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whose power he must soon feel, and against whom he could not be too hasty in taking precautions. He foresaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring absolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely master of all the decisions of the council, if it should continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a Monarch, so ambitious, to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ at pleasure to limit or to overturn the papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to remove the council to some city more immediately under his own jurisdiction, and at a greater distance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred, which gave this measure the appearance of being necessary. One or two of the fathers of the council, together with some of their

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their domeſtics, happening to die ſuddenly, the phyſicians, deceived by the ſymptoms, or ſuborned by the Pope's legates, pronounced the diſtemper to be infectious and peſtilential. Some of the prelates, ſtruck with a panic, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and after a ſhort conſultation, the council was tranſlated to Bologna, a city ſubject to the Pope. All the biſhops in the Imperial intereſt warmly oppoſed this reſolution, as taken without neceſſity, and founded on falſe or frivolous pretexts. All the Spaniſh prelates, and moſt of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's expreſs command, remained at Trent; the reſt, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the legates to Bologna. Thus a ſchiſm commenced in that very aſſembly, which had been called to heal the diviſions of Chriſtendom; the fathers of Bologna inveighed againſt thoſe who ſtaid at Trent, as contumacious and regardleſs of the Pope's authority; while the other accuſed them of being ſo far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their conſultations could prove of no ſervice towards re-eſtabliſhing peace and order in Germany[P].

March 11. Tranſlated from Trent to Bologna.

THE Emperor, at the ſame time, employed all his intereſt to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul, who highly applauded his own ſagacity in having taken a ſtep which put it

Symptoms of diſguſt between the Pope and Emperor.

[P] F. Paul, 248, &c.

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by the worſt tyrants who have diſgraced human nature, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that it was thought any violence whatever might be lawfully attempted againſt him. Gonzaga and Doria ſoon found, among his own ſubjects, perſons who were eager, and even deemed it meritorious, to lend their hands in ſuch a ſervice. As Farneſe, animated with the jealouſy which uſually poſſeſſes petty ſovereigns, had employed all the cruelty and fraud, whereby they endeavour to ſupply their defect of power, in order to humble and extirpate the nobility ſubject to his government, five noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction in Placentia combined to avenge the injuries which they themſelves had ſuffered, as well as thoſe which he had offered to their order. They formed their plan in conjunction with Gonzaga; but it remains uncertain whether he originally ſuggeſted the ſcheme to them, or only approved of what they propoſed, and co-operated in carrying it on. They concerted all the previous ſteps with ſuch foreſight, conducted their intrigues with ſuch ſecrecy, and diſplayed ſuch courage in the execution of their deſign, that it may be ranked among the moſt audacious deeds of that nature mentioned in hiſtory. One body of the conſpirators ſurpriſed, at mid-day, the gates of the citadel of Placentia where Farneſe reſided, overpowered his guards, and murdered him. Another party of them made themſelves maſters of the town, and called upon their fellow-citizens to take arms, in order to recover their liberty. The multitude ran

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The aſſaſſination of the Pope's ſon.

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towards the citadel, from which three great guns, a ſignal concerted with Gonzaga, had been fired; and before they could gueſs the cauſe or the authors of the tumult, they ſaw the lifeleſs body of the tyrant hanging by the heels from one of the windows of the citadel. But ſo univerſally deteſtable had he become, that not one expreſſed any ſentiment of concern at ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune, or diſcovered the leaſt indignation at this ignominious treatment of a ſovereign Prince. The exultation at the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy was general, and all applauded the actors in it, as the deliverers of their country. The body was tumbled into the ditch that ſurrounded the citadel, and expoſed to the inſults of the rabble; the reſt of the citizens returned to their uſual occupations, as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

The Imperial troops take poſſeſſion of Placentia.

BEFORE next morning, a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milaneſe, where they had been poſted in expectation of the event, took poſſeſſion of the city in the Emperor's name, and reinſtated the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the Imperialiſts attempted likewiſe to ſurpriſe, was ſaved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farneſe had intruſted with the command of the garriſon. The death of a ſon whom, notwithſtanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an exceſs of parental tenderneſs, overwhelmed him with the deepeſt affliction; and the loſs of a city of ſuch conſequence as

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as Placentia, greatly embittered his ſorrow. He accuſed Gonzaga, in open conſiſtory, of having committed a cruel murder, in order to prepare the way for an unjuſt uſurpation, and immediately demanded of the Emperor ſatisfaction for both; for the former, by the puniſhment of Gonzaga; for the latter, by the reſtitution of Placentia to his grandſon Octavio, its rightful owner. But Charles, who, rather than quit a prize of ſuch value, was willing, not only to expoſe himſelf to the imputation of being acceſſary to the crime which had given an opportunity of ſeizing it, but to bear the infamy of defrauding his own ſon-in-law of the inheritance which belonged to him, eluded all his ſolicitations, and determined to keep poſſeſſion of the city, together with its territories [q].

The Pope courts the alliance of the French King and the Venetians.

This reſolution, flowing from an ambition ſo rapacious, as to be reſtrained by no conſideration either of decency or juſtice, tranſported the Pope ſo far beyond his uſual moderation and prudence, that he was eager to take arms againſt the Emperor, in order to be avenged on the murderers of his ſon, and to recover the inheritance wreſted from his family. Conſcious, however, of his own inability to contend with ſuch an enemy, he warmly ſolicited the French King and the republic of Venice to join in an offenſive league againſt Charles. But Henry was intent at that time on other objects. His an-

[q] F. Paul, 257. Pallavic. 41, 42. Thuan. iv. 156. Mem. de Ribier, 59. 67. Natalis Comitis Hiſtor. lib. iii. p. 64.

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cient allies the Scots, having been defeated by the Engliſh in one of the greateſt battles ever fought between theſe two rival nations, he was about to ſend a numerous body of veteran troops into that country, as well to preſerve it from being conquered, as to gain the acquiſition of a new kingdom to the French monarchy, by marrying his ſon the Dauphin to the young Queen of Scotland. An undertaking accompanied with ſuch manifeſt advantages, the ſucceſs of which appeared to be ſo certain, was not to be relinquiſhed for the remote proſpect of benefit from an alliance depending upon the precarious life of a Pope of fourſcore, who had nothing at heart but the gratification of his own private reſentment. Inſtead, therefore, of ruſhing headlong into the alliance propoſed, Henry amuſed the Pope with ſuch general profeſſions and promiſes, as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the Emperor, but at the ſame time he avoided any ſuch engagement as might occaſion an immediate rupture with Charles, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians, though much alarmed at ſeeing Placentia in the hands of the Imperialiſts, imitated the wary conduct of the French King, as it nearly reſembled the ſpirit which uſually regulated their own conduct[r].

[r] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 63. 71. 78. 85. 95. Paruta Iſtor. di Venez. 199. 203. Thuan. iv. 160.

BUT,

1547. The diet of Augſburg petitions for the return of the council to Trent.

But, though the Pope found that it was not in his power to kindle immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries which he was obliged for the preſent to endure; reſentment ſettled deeper in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. It was while theſe ſentiments of enmity were in full force, and the deſire of vengeance at its height, that the diet of Augſburg, by the Emperor's command, petitioned the Pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this requeſt. Having obſerved a conſiderable variety of ſentiments among the Proteſtants with reſpect to the ſubmiſſion which he had required to the decrees of the council, ſome of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of juriſdiction upon certain conditions, he employed all his addreſs in order to gain or to divide them. He threatened and overawed the Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, and afraid that the Emperor might inflict on him the puniſhment to which he had made himſelf liable by the aſſiſtance that he had given to the confederates of Smalkalde. The hope of procuring liberty for the Landgrave, together with the formal confirmation of his own electoral dignity, overcame Maurice's ſcruples, or prevented him from oppoſing what he knew would be agreeable to the

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Emperor. The Elector of Brandenburg, leſs influenced by religious zeal than any Prince of that age, was eaſily induced to imitate their example, in aſſenting to all that the Emperor required. The deputies of the cities remained ſtill to be brought over. They were more tenacious of their principles, and though every thing that could operate either on their hopes or fears was tried, the utmoſt that they would promiſe was, to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the council, if effectual proviſion were made for ſecuring to the divines of all parties free acceſs to that aſſembly, with entire liberty of debate; and if all points in controverſy were decided according to ſcripture and the uſage of the primitive church. But when the memorial containing this declaration was preſented to the Emperor, he ventured to put in practice a very extraordinary artifice. Without reading the paper, or taking any notice of the conditions on which they had inſiſted, he ſeemed to take it for granted that they had complied with his demand, and gave thanks to the deputies for their full and unreſerved ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council. The deputies, though aſtoniſhed at what they had heard, did not attempt to ſet him right, both parties being better pleaſed that the matter ſhould remain under this ſtate of ambiguity, than to puſh for an explanation, which muſt have occaſioned a diſpute, and would have led, perhaps, to a rupture[s].

Oct. 9.

[s] F. Paul, 259. Sleid. 440. Thuan. tom. i. 155.

HAVING

HAVING obtained this ſeeming ſubmiſſion from the members of the diet to the authority of the council, Charles employed that as an argument to enforce their petition for its return to Trent. But the Pope, from the ſatisfaction which he felt in mortifying the Emperor, as well as from his own averſion to what was demanded, reſolved, without heſitation, that his petition ſhould not be granted; though, in order to avoid the imputation of being influenced wholly by reſentment, he had the addreſs to throw it upon the fathers at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the requeſt. With this view he referred to their conſideration the petition of the diet, and they, ready to confirm by their aſſent whatever the legates were pleaſed to dictate, declared that the council could not, conſiſtently with its dignity, return to Trent, unleſs the prelates who, by remaining there, had diſcovered a ſchiſmatic ſpirit, would firſt repair to Bologna, and join their brethren; and that, even after their junction, the council could not renew its conſultations with any proſpect of benefit to the church, if the Germans did not prove their intention of obeying its future decrees to be ſincere, by yielding immediate obedience to thoſe which it had already paſſed [t].

1547. The Pope eludes the demand.

Decem. 20.

THIS anſwer was communicated to the Emperor by the Pope, who at the ſame time exhorted him to comply with demands which appeared to

The Emperor proteſts againſt the council of Bologna.

[t] F. Paul, 250. Pallav. ii. 49.

be

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1547. be ſo reaſonable. But Charles was better acquainted with the duplicity of the Pope's character than to be deceived by ſuch a groſs artifice; he knew that the prelates of Bologna durſt utter no ſentiment but what Paul inſpired; and, therefore, overlooking them as mere tools in the hand of another, he conſidered their reply as a full diſcovery of the Pope's intentions. As he could no longer hope to acquire ſuch an aſcendant in the council as to render it ſubſervient to his own plan, he ſaw it to be neceſſary that Paul ſhould not have it in his power to turn againſt him the authority of ſo venerable an aſſembly.

1548. January 16. In order to prevent this, he ſent two Spaniſh lawyers to Bologna, who, in the preſence of the legates, proteſted, That the tranſlation of the council to that place had been unneceſſary, and founded on falſe or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and ſchiſmatical conventicle; that all its deciſions ought of courſe to be held as null and invalid; and that ſince the Pope, together with the corrupt eccleſiaſtics who depended on him, had abandoned the care of the church, the Emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preſerve it from thoſe calamities with which it was threatened. A few days after, the Imperial

January 23. ambaſſador at Rome demanded an audience of the Pope, and in preſence of all the Cardinals, as well as foreign miniſters, proteſted againſt the proceed-

proceedings of the prelates at Bologna, in terms equally harſh and diſreſpectful [u].

The Emperor prepares a ſyſtem, to ſerve as a rule of faith in Germany.

It was not long before Charles proceeded to carry theſe threats, which greatly alarmed both the Pope and council at Bologna, into execution. He let the diet know the ill ſucceſs of his endeavours to procure a favourable anſwer to their petition, and that the Pope, equally regardleſs of their entreaties, and of his ſervices to the church, had refuſed to gratify them by allowing the council to meet again at Trent; that, though all hope of holding this aſſembly in a place, where they might look for freedom of debate and judgment, was not to be given up, the proſpect of it was, at preſent, diſtant and uncertain; that, in the mean time, Germany was torn in pieces by religious diſſenſions, the purity of the faith corrupted, and the minds of the people diſquieted with a multiplicity of new opinions and controverſies formerly unknown among Chriſtians; that, moved by the duty which he owed to them as their ſovereign, and to the Church as its protector, he had employed ſome divines, of known abilities and learning, to prepare a ſyſtem of doctrine, to which all ſhould conform, until a council, ſuch as they wiſhed for, could be convocated. This ſyſtem was compiled by Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries in the

[u] F. Paul, 264. Pallav. 51. Sleid. 446. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperial. i. 561.

Romiſh

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Romiſh church, but remarkable for their pacific and healing ſpirit; the laſt was a Proteſtant divine, ſuſpected, not without reaſon, of having been gained, by bribes and promiſes, to betray or miſlead his party on this occaſion. The articles preſented to the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, in order to reconcile the contending parties, ſerved as a model for the preſent work. But as the Emperor's ſituation was much changed ſince that time, and he found it no longer neceſſary to manage the Proteſtants with the ſame delicacy as at that juncture, the conceſſions in their favour were not now ſo numerous, nor did they extend to points of ſo much conſequence. The treatiſe contained a complete ſyſtem of theology, conformable in almoſt every article to the tenets of the Romiſh church, though expreſſed, for the moſt part, in the ſofteſt words, or in ſcriptural phraſes, or in terms of ſtudied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery, was retained, and the obſervation of all the rites, which the Proteſtants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worſhip of God, was enjoined. With regard to two points only, ſome relaxation in the rigour of opinion as well as ſome latitude in practice were admitted. Such eccleſiaſtics as had married, and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheleſs, to perform all the functions of their ſacred office; and thoſe provinces which had been accuſtomed to partake of the cup, as well as of the bread in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper,

Supper, were ſtill indulged in the privilege of receiving both. Even theſe were declared to be conceſſions for the ſake of peace, and granted only for a ſeaſon, in compliance with the weakneſs or prejudices of their countrymen [x].

This, which was called the Interim, he lays before the diet, May 15.

This ſyſtem of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, becauſe it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor preſented to the diet, with a pompous declaration of his ſincere intention to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting theſe regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that deſirable event. It was read in preſence of the diet, according to form. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, the archbiſhop of Mentz, preſident of the electoral college, roſe up haſtily, and, having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to reſtore peace to the church, he, in name of the diet, ſignified their approbation of the ſyſtem of doctrine which had been read, together with their reſolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole aſſembly was amazed at a declaration ſo unprecedented and unconſtitutional, as well as at the Elector's preſumption in pretending to deliver the ſenſe of the diet, upon a point which had not hitherto been the ſubject of conſultation

[x] F. Paul, 270. Pallav. ii. 60. Sleid. 453. 457. Struv. Corp. 1054. Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. i. 518.

or

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1548. and extorts their approbation of it.

or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had ſaid; ſome being overawed by fear, others remaining ſilent through complaiſance. The Emperor held the archbiſhop's declaration to be a full conſtitutional ratification of the Interim, and prepared to enforce the obſervance of it, as a decree of the Empire [y].

New and fruitleſs ſolicitations for the Landgrave's liberty.

DURING this diet, the wife and children of the Landgrave, warmly ſeconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured to intereſt the members in behalf of that unhappy Prince, who ſtill languiſhed in confinement. But Charles, who did not chuſe to be brought under the neceſſity of rejecting any requeſt that came from ſuch a reſpectable body, in order to prevent their repreſentations, laid before the diet an account of his tranſactions with the Landgrave, together with the motives which had at firſt induced him to detain that Prince in cuſtody, and which rendered it prudent, as he alleged, to keep him ſtill under reſtraint. It was no eaſy matter to give any good reaſon for an action, incapable of being juſtified. But he thought the moſt frivolous pretexts might be produced in an aſſembly the members of which were willing to be deceived, and afraid of nothing ſo much as of diſcovering that they ſaw his conduct in its true colours. His account of his own conduct was accordingly admitted to be fully

[y] Sleid. 460. F. Paul, 273. Pallav. 63.

ſatiſ-

ſatisfactory, and after ſome feeble intreaties that he would extend his clemency to his unfortunate priſoner, the Landgrave's concerns were no more mentioned [z].

In order to counterbalance the unfavourable impreſſion which this inflexible rigour might make, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no leſs permanent and unchangeable than his reſentment, inveſted Maurice in the electoral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed, with extraordinary pomp, in an open court, ſo near the apartment in which the degraded Elector was kept a priſoner, that he could view it from his windows. Even this inſult did not ruffle his uſual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a proſperous rival receiving thoſe enſigns of dignity of which he had been ſtripped, without uttering one ſentiment unbecoming the fortitude that he had preſerved amidſt all his calamities [a].

The Interim equally diſapproved of by Proteſtants and Papiſts.

Immediately after the diſſolution of the diet, the Emperor ordered the Interim to be publiſhed in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the uſual reception of conciliating ſchemes, when propoſed to men heated with diſputation; both parties declaimed againſt it with

[z] Sleid. 441.

[a] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. v. 176. Struv. Corp. 1054. Inveſtitura Mauritii, a Mammerano Lucemburgo deſcripta, ap. Scardium, ii. 508.

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equal violence. The Proteſtants condemned it as a ſyſtem containing the groſſeſt errors of Popery, diſguiſed with ſo little art, that it could impoſe only on the moſt ignorant, or on thoſe who, by wilfully ſhutting their eyes, favoured the deception. The Papiſts inveighed againſt it, as a work in which ſome doctrines of the church were impiouſly given up, others meanly concealed, and all of them delivered in terms calculated rather to deceive the unwary, than to inſtruct the ignorant, or to reclaim ſuch as were enemies to the truth. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it, on one hand, the general of the Dominicans with no leſs vehemence impugned it on the other. But at Rome, as ſoon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and eccleſiaſtics roſe to the greateſt height. They exclaimed againſt the Emperor's profane encroachment on the ſacerdotal function, in preſuming, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worſhip. They compared this raſh deed to that of Uzziah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of thoſe Emperors, who had rendered their memory deteſtable, by endeavouring to model the Chriſtian church according to their pleaſure. They even affected to find out a reſemblance between the Emperor's conduct and that of Henry VIII. and expreſſed their fear of his imitating the example of that apoſtate, by uſurping the

the title as well as jurisdiction belonging to the head of the church. All, therefore, contended with one voice, that as the foundations of ecclesiastical authority were now shaken, and the whole fabric ready to be overturned by a new enemy, some powerful method of defence must be provided, and a vigorous resistance must be made, in the beginning, before he grew too formidable to be opposed.

The sentiments of the Pope with regard to it.

The Pope, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, as well as by a more extensive observation of human affairs, viewed the matter with more acute discernment, and derived comfort from the very circumstance which filled them with apprehension. He was astonished that a Prince of such superior sagacity as the Emperor, should be so intoxicated with a single victory, as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in those matters, with regard to which they are most impatient of dominion. He saw that, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, Charles might have had it in his power to have oppressed the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of his being able to domineer over both. He foretold that a system which all attacked, and none defended, could not be of long duration; and that, for this reason, there was no need of his interposing in order to hasten its fall; for as

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ſoon as the powerful hand which now upheld it was withdrawn, it would ſink of its own accord, and be forgotten for ever [b].

The Emperor enforces compliance with the Interim.

THE Emperor, fond of his own plan, adhered to his reſolution of carrying it into full execution. But though the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, influenced by the ſame conſiderations as formerly, ſeemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he ſhould enjoin, he met not every where with a like obſequious ſubmiſſion. John Marquis of Brandenburg Anſpach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, refuſed to renounce doctrines which he held to be ſacred; and reminding the Emperor of the repeated promiſes which he had given his Proteſtant allies, of allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, he claimed, in conſequence of theſe, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other Princes, alſo, ventured to mention the ſame ſcruples, and to plead the ſame indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occaſions, the firmneſs of the Elector of Saxony was moſt diſtinguiſhed, and merited the higheſt praiſe. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Proteſtant party, laboured, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to gain his approbation of the Interim, and by employing ſometimes promiſes of ſetting him at liberty,

[b] Sleid. 468. F. Paul, 271. 277. Pallav. ii. 64.

ſome-

ſometimes threats of treating him with greater harſhneſs, attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears. But he was alike regardleſs of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now, ſaid he, in my old age, abandon the principles, for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cauſe, on account of which I have ſuffered ſo much, and am ſtill willing to ſuffer. Better for me to enjoy, in this ſolitude, the eſteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conſcience, than to return into the world, with the imputation and guilt of apoſtacy, to diſgrace and embitter the remainder of my days." By this magnanimous reſolution, he ſet his countrymen a pattern of conduct, ſo very different from that which the Emperor wiſhed him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him freſh marks of his diſpleaſure. The rigour of his confinement was increaſed; the number of his ſervants abridged; the Lutheran clergymen, who had hitherto been permitted to attend him, were diſmiſſed; and even the books of devotion, which had been his chief conſolation during a tedious impriſonment, were taken from him [c]. The Landgrave of Heſſe, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the ſame conſtancy. His patience and fortitude were both ſo much exhauſted by the length of his

[c] Sleid. 462.

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confinement, that, willing to purchaſe freedom at any price, he wrote to the Emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his will in every other particular. But Charles, who knew that whatever courſe the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or ſubjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as ſtrictly as ever; and while he ſuffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct ſet in contraſt to that of the Elector, he derived not the ſmalleſt benefit from the mean ſtep which expoſed him to much deſerved cenſure [d].

The free cities ſtruggle againſt receiving the Interim.

But it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the moſt violent oppoſition to the Interim. Theſe ſmall commonwealths, the citizens of which were accuſtomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when they were firſt publiſhed, with remarkable eagerneſs; the bold ſpirit of innovation being peculiarly ſuited to the genius of free government. Among them, the Proteſtant teachers had made the greateſt number of proſelytes. The moſt eminent divines of the party were ſettled in them as paſtors. By having the direction of the ſchools and other ſeminaries of learning, they had trained up diſciples, who were as well inſtructed in the articles of their faith, as they were zealous to defend them. Such perſons were not to be guided

[d] Sleid. 462.

by example, or ſwayed by authority; but having been taught to employ their own underſtanding in examining and deciding with reſpect to the points in controverſy, they thought that they were both qualified and entitled to judge for themſelves. As ſoon as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice, joined in refuſing to admit it. Augſburg, Ulm, Straſburg, Conſtance, Bremen, Magdeburg, together with many other towns of leſs note, preſented remonſtrances to the Emperor, ſetting forth the irregular and unconſtitutional manner in which the Interim had been enacted, and beſeeching him not to offer ſuch violence to their conſciences, as to require their aſſent to a form of doctrine and worſhip, which appeared to them repugnant to the expreſs precepts of the divine law. But Charles having prevailed on ſo many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the repreſentations of thoſe cities, which, how formidable ſoever they might have proved, if they could have been formed into one body, lay ſo remote from each other, that it was eaſy to oppreſs them ſeparately, before it was poſſible for them to unite.

Compelled by violence to ſubmit.

In order to accompliſh this, the Emperor ſaw it to be requiſite that his meaſures ſhould be vigorous, and executed with ſuch rapidity as to allow no time for concerting any common plan of oppoſition. Having laid down this maxim as the rule of his proceedings, his firſt attempt

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was upon the city of Augſburg, which, though overawed by the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, he knew to be as much diſſatisfied with the Interim as any in the Empire. He ordered one body of theſe troops to ſeize the gates; he poſted the reſt in different quarters of the city; and aſſembling all the burgeſſes in the town-hall, he, by his ſole abſolute authority, publiſhed a decree abroliſhing their preſent form of government, diſſolving all their corporations and fraternities, and nominating a ſmall number of perſons, in whom he veſted for the future all the powers of government. Each of the perſons, thus choſen, took an oath to obſerve the Interim. An act of power ſo unprecedented as well as arbitrary, which excluded the body of the inhabitants from any ſhare in the government of their own community, and ſubjected them to men who had no other merit than their ſervile devotion to the Emperor's will, gave general diſguſt; but as they durſt not venture upon reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſubmit in ſilence[e]. From Augſburg, in which he left a garriſon, he proceeded to Ulm, and new-modelling its government with the ſame violent hand, he ſeized ſuch of their paſtors as refuſed to ſubſcribe the Interim, committed them to priſon, and at his departure carried them along with him in chains[f]. By this ſeverity he not only ſecured the reception of the Interim in two of the moſt

Aug. 3.

[e] Sleid. 469. [f] Ibid. 472.

powerful

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powerful cities, but gave warning to the reſt what ſuch as continued refractory had to expect. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wiſhed; and many towns, in order to ſave themſelves from the like treatment, found it neceſſary to comply with what he enjoined. This obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the ſentiments of the Germans, and extended no farther than to make them conform ſo far to what he required, as was barely ſufficient to ſcreen them from puniſhment. The Proteſtant preachers accompanied thoſe religious rites, the obſervation of which the Interim preſcribed, with ſuch an explication of their tendency, as ſerved rather to confirm than to remove the ſcruples of their hearers with regard to them. The people, many of whom had grown up to mature years ſince the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion, and had never known any other form of public worſhip, beheld the pompous pageantry of the popiſh ſervice with contempt or horror; and in moſt places the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics who returned to take poſſeſſion of their churches, could hardly be protected from inſult, or their miniſtrations from interruption. Thus, notwithſtanding the apparent compliance of ſo many cities, the inhabitants being accuſtomed to freedom, ſubmitted with reluctance to the power which now oppreſſed them. Their underſtanding as well as inclination revolted againſt the doctrines and ceremonies impoſed on them; and

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though, for the preſent, they concealed their diſguſt and reſentment, it was evident that theſe paſſions could not always be kept under reſtraint, but would break out at laſt in effects proportional to their violence[g].

The Pope diſmiſſes the Council aſſembled at Bologna.

CHARLES, however, highly pleaſed with having bent the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans to ſuch general ſubmiſſion, departed for the Low-Countries, fully determined to compel the cities, which ſtill ſtood out, to receive the Interim. He carried his two priſoners, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, along with him, either becauſe he durſt not leave them behind him in Germany, or becauſe he wiſhed to give his countrymen the Flemings this illuſtrious proof of the ſucceſs of his arms, and the extent of his power. Sept. 17. Before Charles arrived at Bruſſels, he was informed that the Pope's legates at Bologna had diſmiſſed the council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the prelates aſſembled there had returned to their reſpective countries. Neceſſity had driven the Pope into this meaſure. By the ſeceſſion of thoſe who had voted againſt the tranſlation, together with the departure of others, who grew weary of continuing in a place where they were not ſuffered to proceed to buſineſs, ſo few and ſuch inconſiderable members remained, that the pompous appellation of a General Council could not, with decency, be beſtowed any longer

[g] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 218. Sleid. 491.

upon

upon them. Paul had no choice but to diſſolve an aſſembly which was become the object of contempt, and exhibited to all Chriſtendom a moſt glaring proof of the impotence of the Romiſh See. But unavoidable as the meaſure was, it lay open to be unfavourably interpreted, and had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy, at the very time when thoſe for whoſe recovery it was provided, were prevailed on to acknowledge its virtue, and to make trial of its efficacy. Charles did not fail to put this conſtruction on the conduct of the Pope; and by an artful compariſon of his own efforts to ſuppreſs hereſy, with Paul's ſcandalous inattention to a point ſo eſſential, he endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all zealous Catholics. At the ſame time, he commanded the prelates of his faction to remain at Trent, that the Council might ſtill appear to have a being, and might be ready, whenever it was thought expedient to reſume its deliberations for the good of the church [h].

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The Emperor receives his ſon Philip in the Low-Countries.

THE motive of Charles's journey to the Low-Countries, beſide gratifying his favourite paſſion of travelling from one part of his dominions to another, was to receive Philip his only ſon, who was now in the twenty-firſt year of his age, and whom he had called thither, not only that he might be recognized by the States of the Ne-

[h] Pallav. p. 11. 72.

therlands

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1548. therlands as heir-apparent, but in order to facilitate the execution of a vaſt ſcheme, the object of which, and the reception it met with, ſhall be hereafter explained. Philip, having left the government of Spain to Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to whom the Emperor had given the Princeſs Mary his daughter in marriage, embarked for Italy, attended by a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles[i]. The ſquadron which eſcorted him, was commanded by Andrew Doria, who, notwithſtanding his advanced age, inſiſted on the honour of performing, in perſon, the ſame duty to the ſon, which he had often diſcharged towards the father. He landed ſafely at Genoa; from thence he went to Milan, and proceeding through Germany, arrived at the Imperial court in Bruſſels. The States of Brabant, in the firſt place, and thoſe of the other provinces in their order, acknowledged his right of ſucceſſion in common form, and he took the cuſtomary oath to preſerve all their privileges inviolate[k]. In all the towns of the Low-countries through which Philip paſſed, he was received with extraordinary pomp. Nothing that could either expreſs the reſpect of the people, or contribute to his amuſement, was neglected; pageants, tournaments, and public ſpectacles of every kind, were exhibited with that expenſive magnificence which commercial

Nov. 25.

1549. April 1.

[i] Ochoa, Carolea, 362.

[k] Haræi Annal. Brabant. 652.

nations

nations are fond of diſplaying, when, on any occaſion, they depart from their uſual maxims of frugality. But amidſt theſe ſcenes of feſtivity and pleaſure, Philip's natural ſeverity of temper was diſcernible. Youth itſelf could not render him agreeable, nor his being a candidate for power form him to courteſy. He maintained a haughty reſerve in his behaviour, and diſcovered ſuch manifeſt partiality towards his Spaniſh attendants, together with ſuch an avowed preference to the manners of their country, as highly diſguſted the Flemings, and gave riſe to that antipathy, which afterwards occaſioned a revolution fatal to him in that part of his dominions [1].

CHARLES was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him ſo frequently, and with ſuch increaſing violence, that it had broken, to a great degree, the vigour of his conſtitution. He nevertheleſs did not ſlacken his endeavours to enforce the Interim. The inhabitants of Straſburg, after a long ſtruggle, found it neceſſary to yield obedience; thoſe of Conſtance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled not only to conform to the Interim, but to renounce their privileges as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Auſtria,

[1] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 29. L'Eveſque Mem. de Card. Granvelle, i. 21.

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and, as his vaſſals, to admit an Auſtrian governor and garriſon[m]. Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, were the only Imperial cities of note that ſtill continued refractory.

[m] Sleid. 474. 491.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM